THE GREEKS IN INDIA

A Survey in Philosophical Understanding

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Munshiram Manoharlal
Publishers Pvt. Ltd.

This book relates to the history of the ideological presence of the Greeks in India. Unlike the previous works, which have been focused on particular historical periods, the present study aims to present the literary and religio-philosophic character of the Greeks in India as they interact with the Indians and the Indian culture from the earliest times to the present. It includes prehistoric, mythical and the first historically attested accounts of contact, a critical review of the Oriental Origin theory and travels of the Greek philosophers who are commonly thought to have visited or to have been influenced by India, the meeting of Alexander with the Indian Gymnosophists, the inter-religious contacts that took place between the two peoples during the reign of the Indo-Greek kingdoms in Bactria and the Medieval Ages, and a critical study of the identity of the Yavanas as they occur in Indian texts and inscriptions. The book provides further information on the life and work of the first and foremost Greek Indologist Demetrios Galanos, a record of Indological studies in Greece, and reviews on the works made by contemporary Greek scholars and diplomatic representatives in India.

Dr. Demetrios Theodossios Vassiliades was born in the North Aegean Island of Thassos (Greece). He began his studies in Indian Philosophy while a student at the Athens School of Economics and Business Science (ASOEE). After his graduation he came to India where he dedicated two decades in the study of Indian languages and philosophies. Initially he studied for five years at the Bihar School of Yoga, Munger and later at the Banaras Hindu University. He has been awarded first class diplomas in Hindi, Sanskrit and Yoga, a gold medal distinction for his M.A. in Indian Philosophy and Religion and a Ph.D. degree for his dissertation, "A Critical and Comparative Study of the Presocratic Greek and Ancient Indian Philosophies."

To the Foreigner

Πολλὴ μὲν ἡ Ἑλλάς, ἔφη, ὦ Κέβης, ἐν ᾗ ἔνεισί που ἀγαθοὶ ἄνδρες, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν βαρβάρων γένη, οὕς πάντας χρὴ διερευνᾶσθαι ζητοῦντας τοιοῦτον ἐπῳδόν, μήτε χρημάτων φειδομένους μήτε πόνων, ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν εἰς ὅτι ἂν εὐκαιρότερον ἀναλίσκοιτε χρήματα, ζητεῖν δὲ χρὴ καὶ αὐτοὺς μετ' ἀλλήλων· ἴσως γὰρ ἂν οὐδὲ ῥαδίως εὕροιτε μᾶλλον ὑμῶν δυναμένους τοῦτο ποιεῖν.

Greece is a large country, Cebes, he (Socrates) said, somewhere in it there must be good men, and there are many foreign races as well. You must search through all of them seeking such a master, without sparing money or pains, because there is nothing more important on which to spend your money. You must also search among yourselves, because, probably you will not find anyone better fitted to accomplish the task.

Plato, *Phaedon*, 78 a

Contents

Foreword

The present monograph, entitled *The Greeks in India: A Survey in Philosophical Understanding*, is the natural outcome of Dr. Demetrios Th. Vassiliades' long and sincere endeavour in Indian and Indo-Greek studies through which he succeeded in developing a competency in Indian histories, philosophies, and languages, qualifications absolutely necessary for the mastery of the complexity of the subject.

The author has, in this informative treatise, systematically and critically documented Greek and Indian sources and brought to light many new perspectives and insights which enrich our understanding in regard to the history of the ideological presence of the Greeks in India as well as the interconnection between Hellenic, Indian, and Christian thought.

After reading Vassiliades' work, I am convinced that the Greeks in India, whose significance has been rather neglected in the past by both Western and Indian scholars, shall be recognised in the future as pioneers in the formative stages of the global family's advancement.

The West is understandably proud of Alexander's success in bridging the geographical distances that divided the East and the West for millennia. India has, however, to a greater extent focused its attention upon the contribution of the great scholars, such as Ctesias, Megasthenes, Apollonios of Tyana, Galanos, and numerous other less known and as yet unknown ancient and contemporary Greeks. India recognised them for bridging cultural differences and for their valuable contribution to the history of its ideas and culture.

Although I disagree with my Greek student on certain points, especially in his interpretation of the connection between Christian and Indian thought, yet I have no hesitation in recommending this book as most beneficial to scholars who are working in Indo-Greek studies and to all those who are interested in the history of philosophy and religion in general.

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Preface

While working on the completion of my Ph.D. thesis, "A Critical and Comparative Study of the Presocratic Greek and Ancient Indian Philosophies," at the Banaras Hindu University (B.H.U.), I planned to include an appendix on the ideological contacts between the Hellenic and Indian worlds in pre-Alexandrian times. Working on such a fascinating subject one is easily caught up in the zeal of research, and I found myself with a collection of important material beyond the scope of the limited chronological area of my work. I therefore decided to prepare a concise survey of the history of the ideological presence of the Greeks in India, which, along with some plates and maps, are presented here for the benefit of anyone interested in journeying into this subject.

The book consists of five research papers and four appendices, which cover the entire area from the earliest times to the present. The first paper deals with the pre-Alexandrian era and includes prehistoric, mythical and the first historically attested accounts of contact. The second begins with the arrival of Alexander to India and ends with the interreligious contacts that took place between the two nations during the Medieval Ages. The third paper is a critical study of the identity of the Yavanas (supposed Greeks) as they occur in Indian texts and inscriptions from the Vedic King Turvasu up to the Turks. The fourth is a short description of the life and work of the first and foremost Greek Indologist Demetrios Galanos, who spent forty years of his life in Varanasi and contributed enormously to the promotion of Sanskrit literature and lexicography. The final paper includes a brief record of Indological studies in Greece and reviews of the works made by contemporary Greek scholars and diplomatic representatives, who researched and/or published books in India.

The first appendix incorporates information on the travels of the Greek philosophers who are commonly thought to have visited or to have been influenced by India, their philosophical doctrines and counterparts in Indian philosophy. The second is a review of the Oriental Origin theory. The third is a critical study of the views about the Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas which appear in early Greek and Indian literature. Lastly, the fourth appendix incorporates reviews of the Ph.D. theses submitted by Greek scholars to Indian universities. A detailed comparative chronological chart, at

the end of the book, lists the most important dates in the Greek and Indian histories.

As the topic is extremely vast, I was obliged to omit detailed accounts of historical and anthropological interest and to pursue mainly topics of philosophical and religious significance. Some general social problems, and attitudes have also been briefly mentioned. A broader study would have also included research in scientific fields, especially in mathematics, music, astronomy, medicine, and biology, but due to the lack of time and evidence the present work had to be limited.

All facts are taken from Greek and Indian texts as well as from the fields of linguistics, archaeology and numismatics. In the footnotes are listed bibliographical details of books that I have consulted and my acknowledgement to their authors. The transliteration from Sanskrit is in accordance with internationally accepted characters, except for those terms and names for which there is a commonly accepted and simplified spelling. Though the English spelling of Greek names is often incorrect (e.g., Basileus instead of Vasileus, Boeotia instead of Voiotia, Homer instead of Homeros, Aristotle instead of Aristoteles, etc.), I was obliged to maintain it, because most readers are familiar with it. However, I tried to avoid manipulation of this problem and modern or less known Greek names are written with their Greek pronunciation. Also Greek names ending in -os maintain the Greek pronunciation (e.g., Olympos instead of Olympus, Demetrios instead of Demetrius, etc.). A few other terms such as, Far-East, East and West, Orient, theologian, etc., as well as the use of the Christian calendar are based on relative points of view, but as they have been accepted by most scholars, I made conventional use of them.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank all my teachers, colleagues, and friends, who helped in various ways for the preparation of this book. In particular I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. Helen Abadzi (Education Specialist, World Bank Headquarters, Washington), Prof. U.P. Arora, Secretary of the Indian Society for Greek and Roman Studies (Ruhelkand University), Prof. Bharat Gupt, author of the *Dramatic Concepts, Greek and Indian* (Delhi University), Prof. Pavlos Kavouras (Athens University), Prof. A.K. Narain, author of the *Indo-Greeks*, and Prof. S.A. Schulz (Catholic University of America, Washington D.C.) for providing me with their published works, suggestions, and encouragement.

I am deeply indebted to Prof. K.N. Mishra (Comparative Religion), Prof. Kamlakar Mishra (Kaśmīra Śaivism), Prof. R.R. Pandey (Vedānta), Prof. B.N. Singh (Mahāyāna Buddhism), Prof. K.D. Tripathi (Sanskrit Litera-

ture), and Dr. Savita Sharma (Numismatic Section, Bharat Kala Bhavan Museum), at the Banaras Hindu University, for always being ready to help and, above all, for their lifelong devotion to the promotion of interreligious dialogue which has been a constant source of inspiration to me.

I am especially obliged to the Philanthropic Society of Orthodox Church in Calcutta and to the staff of the Greek Embassy in New Delhi for their kind assistance and co-operation. I am much indebted to my good friends: Antonis Papadopoulos, Apostolos Michailides, Calliope Koulachidou, Chistos Terzes, Demetres Constandoudakes, Elias Katsiabas, Friderikos Augerinos, Ioanna Petropoulou, Dr. Miltiades Spyrou, Olga Karachissarli, Theodora Konstanta, Vangelis Theophilou, Vassilike Gika, Yannis Karayannis, Yannis Manettas, and Yvonne Alexandridou, for providing me additional research material and friendly encouragement.

I also want to thank my wonderful and esteemed friends and colleagues: Alvaro Enterria, Atmadhara Saraswati, Beat Niederer, Dr. Rev. Beligalle Dhammajoti, Cathy Rigby, Chicca Fioretto, Cyril Vivien, David Virgili, Dale Mather, Dr. Frans Baartmans, Dr. Gelnn Wallis, Govinda Saraswati, Leonard Mock, Dr. Mark Dyczkowski, Dr. Niknejad Abdol Hossein, Paul Steinmetz, Peter John Theis, Richard Karpen, Shamil Vayot, Subash Chandra, Rebecca Thomason, and Dr. Oscar Pujol, with whom I have been fortunate to share my work through the years and whose input has significantly contributed to the enrichment of the present work. Additionally, I am grateful to Dr. Katherine Zeiss for being willing to assist in the final of this manuscript amidst her other pressing commitments.

It also gives me the greatest pleasure to acknowledge my deep gratitude to the librarians and officers of the Central Library, and the Department of Philosophy and Bharat Kala Bhavan libraries at B.H.U., as well as to the librarians of the American Institute for Indian Studies (A.I.I.S.) at Ramnagar. I am thankful to the directors of the Bharat Kala Bhavan Museum and A.I.I.S. for providing me with photographs and allowing me to publish them.

D. TH. VASSILIADES

Assi Ghat
Varanasi
14 September 1999

Illustrations

Maps

Abbreviations

AI	*Ancient India.* Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India.
AIDCL	John W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as Described in Classical Literature,* Westminster, 1901, reprint, Oriental Books Reprint Corporation, New Delhi, 1979.
AIDMA	John W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as Described by Megasthenes and Arrian,* Chuckervertty, Chatterjee & Co. Ltd., Calcutta, (1926), reprint (with additions) from the Indian Antiquary, 1876-77. Being an English translation of the fragments of the *Indica* of Megasthenes collected by E.A. Schwanbeck, (*Megasthenis Indica Fragmenta Collegit*, Bonn, 1846) and of the first part of the *Indica* of Arrian.
ASI	*Archaeological Survey of India.*
BITS	Bibliotheca Indo-Tibetica Series, Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, Sarnath, Varanasi.
CHI	*Cambridge History of India,* edited by E.J. Rapson, reprint, S. Chand & Co., Delhi, 1955.
Corp. Ins. Ind.	*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.*
DK	Herman Diels, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker,* (Greek and German, in 3 volumes), sixth revised edition, W. Kranz, Berlin, 1952 (1903).
DPPN	G.P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names,* Munshiram Manoharlal Publ., New Delhi, 1995.
EW	*East and West*, a quarterly published by the Instituto Italiano Per Il Medio Ed Estremo Oriente, Rome.
Ep. Ind.	*Epigraphia Indica, Archaeological Survey of India.*
Ep. Zeyl.	*Epigraphia Zeylanica, Archaeological Survey of Ceylon.*
FGrH	F. von Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker,* I-II D, Berlin, 1923-30; III A-III C, Leiden, 1954-58.
GI	*Graeco-Indica: India's Cultural Contacts with the Greek World,* Heritage of Ancient India, no. XXVI, edited by U.P. Arora, Ramanand Vidya Bhawan, New Delhi, 1991.
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society.*

JBBRAS	*Journal of the Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society.*
JBORS	*Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.*
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies.*
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.*
JUPHS	*Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society.*
Ind. Ant.	*Indian Antiquary.*
IC	*Indian Culture.*
IGCP	*India and Greece—Connections and Parallels,* edited by Saryu Doshi, Marg Publications, Bombay, 1985.
IHQ	*The Indian Historical Quarterly.*
Loeb	Loeb Classical Library.
SBE	Sacred Books of the East.
SI	*Select Inscriptions—Bearing on Indian History and Civilization,* edited by Dines Chandra Sircar, vol. I, University of Calcutta, 1942; vol. II, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1983.
VI	A.A. Macdonell and A.B. Keith, *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects,* John Murray & Co., London, 1912, reprint, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1967.

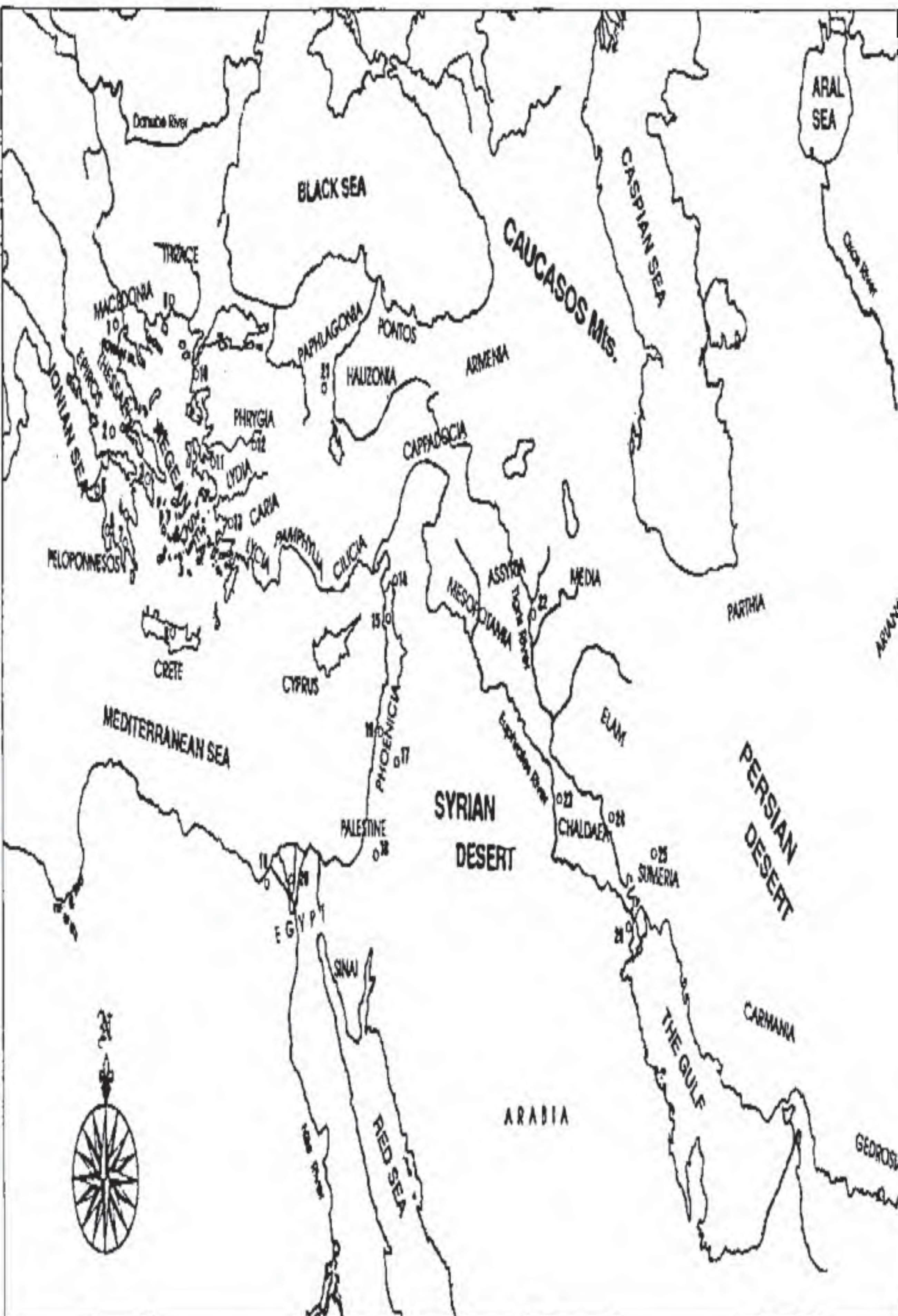
CHAPTER 1

The Pre-Alexandrian Age

THE PREHISTORIC CIVILISATIONS

In the lands which we now call Greece and India, palaeontologists and archaeologists have proved the existence of people since the Palaeolithic age, and have shown that permanent settlements began at least as early as the fifth millennium BC. In the second millennium BC and earlier, we find the first great civilisations developing on the East Mediterranean coasts, and in the river valleys, such as the Nile, Tigris, Euphrates, and Indus. The importance of these rivers to the formation of the first agricultural societies was much greater at that time, as land cultivation was still in its infancy. Rivers and seaports served as important points of communication. In those days, people of different cultural groups communicated and traded mainly with close neighbours. Due to natural obstacles, such as deserts and mountains, linguistic barriers, lack of transportation facilities, and the dangers and difficulties that long trips entailed, the areas of communication and interaction were limited. One would not expect to find extensive or direct contact between civilised centres separated from each other by the broadest of geographical distances. Nevertheless, several basic achievements, such as the art of spinning and weaving or the making and painting of pottery were passed from neighbour to neighbour and reached lands far from their origin. Sometimes such inter-cultural influence was spread peacefully by merchants and travellers and, at other times, by more forceful methods. Wandering nomads, who were often obliged to cover great distances, also played a significant role in spreading cultural achievements and ideas.

With an increase in power in some kingdoms, trade, settlement and military enterprise were expanded. The discovery of Assyrian clay tablets at Kültepe,[1] for instance, shows that the Assyrians had developed close ties with the Hittites and had established trading colonies (kārum) in Asia Minor as early as the twentieth century BC. From Mesopotamia, trade contacts with India started as early as the Early Dynastic III period (2600-2500 BC), but matured and became regular sometime in the twenty-fourth century BC. The archaeological evidence of India's prehistoric trade con-



1. Pella
2. Delphi
3. Athens
4. Mycenae
5. Olympia
6. Pylos
7. Sparta
8. Knossos
9. Abdera
10. Troy
11. Ephesos
12. Sardeis
13. Miletos
14. Alalakh
15. Ugarit
16. Sidon
17. Damascos
18. Jerusalem
19. Alexandria
20. Naucratis
21. Boghazköi
22. Nineveh
23. Babylon
24. Susa
25. Persepolis
26. Ur

Map 1. Greece and the Orient

tact with Mesopotamia and West Asia is contained in discovered seals, sealings and amulets.[2]

GREECE AND THE ORIENT

Historical and cultural relations in the early Greek world of great palaces, with Knossos in Crete, Mycenae and Pylos in Peloponnesos, Thebes in Boeotia, and the Aegean Islands as its best known examples, extended to neighbouring people, such as the Egyptians, Phoenicians, Hurrites, and Hittites.

Asiatic words were found in Mycenaean tablets and hundreds of Egyptian objects have been recovered in archaeological excavations in Greece. Similar quantities of Greek wares as well as Minoan pottery of this period and earlier have been found in Egypt.[3] A delegation from Crete is known to have visited the Egyptian court on at least one occasion during the reign of Queen Hatshepsut (early fifteenth century BC). Mycenaean settlements were established from the eighteenth to the late thirteenth century BC in Cyprus, and Alalakh and Ugarit on the coast of Syria. The discovery of a Cypriot-Minoan tablet in Ugarit shows that the island of Cyprus served as a connecting link between Mycenaean settlements in Ugarit and the mainland of Greece. Contacts with the Hittites could have occurred through the Aegean Islands and Asia Minor.

All the places mentioned above show an Aegean influence in their art. In its turn, Aegean art was much influenced by that of Egypt and Asia.[4] There is a great deal of evidence of a reciprocal exchange in trade products, as well. We can also see a wide range of shared customs, such as the performance of sacrifices; the burying of the dead in large storage vessels, or pithoi; and the use of honey in burial rites, which dates approximately from the period between 3500 and 1750 BC.[5] Cultural interchange is further attested to by Homer, who, in his Epics, refers to the presence of Phoenician and Sidonian traders; Egyptians; Lycians, Trojans and Phrygians in Asia Minor; Amazons in Central Anatolia; Paphlagones and Hanzones around the Black Sea; and Ethiopians, the most remote people, in the Far East. There are also certain myths, such as the voyage of Jason and the Argonauts, the return of Dionysos from Asia and the exploits of Hercules, which suggest early contact between Greece and her neighbouring countries.

It is more difficult, however, to know whether or to what extent a movement of ideas and beliefs occurred. We may infer that a movement of legends and cosmological and mythological beliefs was instigated by travelling traders, poets and sailors. Paintings that depict, for example, the master of animals or the mistress of animals and snakes, obviously had some meaning and it would seem natural that people then would have wanted to

know more about these. Traders who went abroad may have come across the stories represented in art works as well as additional myths, legends and beliefs then current in those countries. Then, along with their purchased wares, they would have returned with these tales to their homelands. People may also have learned foreign languages and scripts. This was much easier in the case of people with different languages living in close proximity. Possibly the older Sumerian poetry was brought to the Babylonians and from them to the Hittites and Phoenicians, who finally passed it on, in some form, to Minoan Crete and Mycenaean Greece.[6]

A more permanent influence might be traced to the import of deities. Foreign deities were admitted when countries expanded their dominion to new areas or when newcomers and invaders brought their gods with them. The Trojans, according to Homer, worshipped the Olympian gods and some of them even took their side, against the Greeks, during the war. The worship of Hercules at Thassos and the Kabeiroi (Κάβειροι) at Samothrake and elsewhere has been assigned to an eastern, perhaps a Phoenician origin.[7] The worship of Apollo is connected to the Hyperboreans, who are thought to have lived on the banks of the Danube River.[8] Artemis, the graceful huntress-maiden, has also been seen as a Hellenic conception of the Phrygian Cybele with her attendant animals and her Amazon priestesses. As soon as a national identity became stronger, however, religion (τὰ τῶν θεῶν κοινὰ ἱδρύματα) confined itself within political boundaries and helped to unite the nation. Later, imported gods such as Adonis, Cybele, Savasios, etc., were few, and played only a secondary role.[9] The great gods of Persia and Egypt, (like Mithra, Isis, and Osiris), which gained such a vogue in the Roman period, had no influence on the religious life of the Greeks.

Herodotos was perhaps the only one among the classical writers who believed that the name of Dionysos, the ceremony of his worship, and the procession of the phallus, were introduced into Greece from Egypt by Melampous, the son of Amython.[10] He equated Dionysos with Osiris, who according to the *Pyramid Texts* is a member of the 'Great ennead' of the Egyptian gods.[11] He also mentioned that the Egyptians were first to use the names of the twelve gods, and that the Greeks adopted their gods from them.[12]

There remains, however, the difficulty that Herodotos was not in a position to trace the origin of the Dionysian religion which was known and practised for many centuries before him in Greece.[13] There was a certain tendency among the orthodox Greeks to exclude from the divine pantheon of Olympos the maniac (μαινόμενος) Dionysos, who embodied the vices of intoxication and ecstasy. Hence, we often hear his origin attributed as being foreign, i.e., Thracian, Phrygian, or Egyptian. The deciphering of the Mycenaean script, known as Linear B, in 1953 by Michael G.F. Ventris and

John Chadwick, however, has shown that Dionysos, or at least his name (Ζόννυσσον), was known in the Mycenaean world.[14] Earlier worship of Dionysos can be inferred from the findings made in the temple of Keas (twelfth century BC) as well as from small statues made of clay (fifteenth century BC) showing ladies dancing around a male deity.[15] The gold plates, with Orphic verses inscribed on them, discovered at Thourioi and Petelia are of the fourth or third centuries BC.[16] We also hear of several ancient Orphics, such as Kerkops and Brontinos, who came from South Italy to Greece.[17]

Homer, an admirer of Olympian religion, does not give any importance to Dionysos and his cult. He recognises his birth from Zeus and Semele but he does not raise him to Olympos (a symbol of a deity's elevated status). In Hesiod,[18] however, he and his mother (now renamed Θυώνη or Διώνη) are recognised as divine, and they are placed on Olympos. Homer does not associate Dionysos with wine, which has led several theologians to the conclusion that wine was a later addition in the worship of Dionysos. But the older Anthesteria (ἀρχαιότερα Διονύσια), celebrated in both Ionia and Attika, were celebrations of wine.[19] Hesiod[20] explicitly mentions wine as a gift of the liberator (Λύσιος) Dionysos.

What we can therefore say is that Herodotos observed several similarities between Egyptian and Greek practices, such as the production of wine and the commemoration of popular religious festivities.[21] Knowing that the Egyptian civilisation preceded the Greek, he came to the inaccurate conclusion that Egypt was the original source of the Greek religion. Similarities are often misleading and much that had been regarded as foreign may also have been native.

In the eleventh century BC, while mainland Greece was in its 'Dark Ages,' the settlement of Ionian Greeks on the coast of Asia Minor made communication with eastern countries much easier. Homer (latter half of the eighth century BC), who along with Hesiod was considered the main source of wisdom in classical Greece,[22] was himself an Ionian. Behind him lay a great Greek poetic and artistic heritage. The deciphering of Linear B clearly shows that the Mycenaeans spoke an early form of Greek and that names of heroes and gods given in the Homeric Epics were already known from at least the thirteenth century BC.[23] The Mycenaean hymns were transmitted in the oral tradition, from one generation to another for at least half a millennium, before Homer would finally weave them into a unified whole. As Vālmīki and Vyāsa inherited vast amounts of material for their great Indian epics (the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* respectively) from previous generations, so also Homer inherited his material from countless predecessors. He looked to the past for his own inspiration, to the great Mycenaean kingdoms.

From Homer we hear, for the first time, of the existence of the Ethiopians, the most remote of men, who were divided into two parts: those living at the place where the sun sets and those living where it rises.[24] The Ethiopians have later been associated with the Indians.[25] Aeschylos[26] and Herodotos,[27] however, speak of Asiatic Ethiopians as differing from the Indians and from this we may infer that the term 'Ethiopians' was applied to some undefined races in the salt states, perhaps, as McCrindle has suggested, the Abyssinians (Itiopyavan). The identity of the people described as eastern Ethiopians remains uncertain. However, Homer's statement is significant because it shows that the Homeric Greeks did not have a clear conception regarding the people inhabiting the Far East. The division between Ethiopia and India was clarified by the geographer Ephoros of Cyme (*c.* 405–*c.* 330 BC), who followed Herodotos in many respects. Ephoros gives the following account: "Indians live towards the East, where rises the sun. Towards the South live the Ethiopians and in the West live the Celts. In the North, where there is the star Arktos, live the Scythians."[28]

INDO-IRANIANS, INDO-ĀRYANS AND INDIAN ABORIGINES

The unearthed remains of more than a hundred sites scattered over a one thousand mile radius, stretching from the eastern border of Iran in the West to Delhi and the Yamunā river in the East, reveal to us an ancient civilisation, now known as 'The Indus Valley Civilisation.' This existed in North India from the fourth or third millennium BC. However, no conclusions can be drawn about the language and race of these people as the script discovered on artefacts found in these sites has not been deciphered yet. The extent to which they influenced the formation and development of neighbouring and succeeding cultures remains unknown.

However, references to rivers, animals and trees found in the earliest hymns of *Ṛgveda*[29] provide sufficient material to portray the homeland of its authors. In the second millennium BC, the country of the 'Seven Rivers' (Sapta Sidhavas), as it was called,[30] extended westward to a part of what is now Persia and Afghanistan and eastward to the Sindhu (Indus) and Saraswatī (probably Sarsūti) rivers.[31]

That an early form of Indo-Iranian religion extended up to the north-western borders of Mesopotamia has been proved by the discovery of the records of treaties between the Hittite King Ghubbiluliuma and the Mitānni ruler Matiwāja (fourteenth century BC). The records contain names corresponding to the Vedic gods, Indra (In-da-ra), the two Aśvins under the name Nāsatyā (Na-sa-at-ti-ia), Mitra (Mi-it-ra), and Varuṇa, (U-ru-w-na).[32] The discovery of a Mycenaean seal in the excavations at the capital of the Hittites[33] suggests possible indirect contacts between the Mycenaeans and

the Indo-Āryans through the Hittites.

It is not known whether in the early days Indo-Āryan tribes lived on lands lying to the east of the Indus River. The question of the expansion of the original Āryan homeland remains a matter of differing opinions and requires further research. However, the few, but very significant, Vedic references to Yamunā[34] and Gaṅgā[35] provide unquestionable evidence that the Vedic Āryans could cross, most probably through the foothills of the Himalayas, the great desert of Rājputānā and communicate with the tribes of North India. The Ṛgvedic Indians, as well as the non-Āryan tribes present in Northwest India[36] may also have developed early trade contacts with Semitic kingdoms.[37] The view suggested by A.C. Das[38] and other Indian scholars, that the Sumerians and the Phoenicians were originally Dravidians and spread their culture to the whole world, is too unrealistic for us to accept verbatim. In the Vedic literature we do not find accounts of foreign nations and distant lands.

The Indo-Iranian tribes, who categorised themselves as Āryan (Āriya in old Iranian), 'noble,' shared many rituals, customs, and beliefs with one another.[39] In the course of time they formed two main groups, who had certain internal religious and social antagonisms, and finally separated into the 'Indian Āryans' and 'Iranian Āryans' or Parsees. This division isolated the former group from the West, forcing them to turn in search of communication to the East. Finally, the Parsees seem to have been influenced by the Semitic religions to such an extent that they drifted from their ancient religion and adopted the 'ethical monotheistic' reforms of Zoroaster (Zarathustra). The enmity which existed between the two traditions is illustrated by the change of the meaning of the word 'Asura' (the Zoroastrian 'Ahura'), from its use in earlier hymns to denote a supreme God, to its use in later Vedic literature where it denoted demon. Further, the language changes in coming to refer to Vedic gods (devas) as demons (daivas) in *Avesta* (seventh century BC). The Indo-Āryans, isolated by the Parsees from the rest of the north-western world, turned to the East for their survival and further development. Thus, their rich and complex religious, philosophical, linguistic, and artistic traditions remained in exclusive isolation on the Indian subcontinent. To a certain extent, this schism explains why the Indians had not gained access to western horizons and why Persians and Greeks, even until the days of Alexander, were totally unaware of the Indians living not a few hundred miles away from the banks of the Indus river, stretching to Magadba and the plains of tbe Gaṅgā and Yamunā.

The Indian Āryans developed close contact with aboriginal tribes. A large number of words in Sanskrit which are without Indo-European etymology are traceable mainly to the non-Āryan languages of India, such as Muṇḍa and Dravidian.[40] A small number of Dravidian words are found in

the *Ṛgveda*, indicating early contact between the Āryan and Dravidian people. The addition of words in subsequent periods became progressively more frequent. The majority of added words appear to have been inserted between the late Vedic period and the early stages of the formation of the classical Sanskrit language.[41] There are also a few words of unknown origin which may have been adopted into Sanskrit from people whose languages have become totally extinct.[42] The Sanskrit words of Greek origin are comparatively few and are found in later Sanskrit literature. They might have been adopted partly as a result of the rule of the Indo-Greeks in Bactria and North India, and partly as a result of the later Hellenistic influence on Indian art and sciences. Several Greek technical terms have been found in comparatively late Indian astronomical literature as well.

There presently exists the widely accepted view that the hymns of the *Ṛgveda*, describing wars between gods (devas) and demons, such as the Asuras, the Rākṣasas, the Yakṣas, the Gandharvas, the Piśācas, the Paṇis, the Dāsas, and the Dasyus were composed to celebrate the victory of the Āryans over non-Āryan tribes. However, this does not wholly correspond to historical and ethnological facts. The terms 'Dāsa' and 'Dasyu' originally meant 'demon' and were applied to the demonic beings, who were believed to harm man, and who were finally destroyed by Indra and other Vedic gods.[43] These demons are described as non-worshippers (a-karmam, a-devayu, a-Brahman), non-sacrificers (a-yajña, a-vrata, etc.), non-divine (a-deva), non-human (a-mānuṣa), of hostile speech (mṛdhra-vāc) and in a single passage as noseless (a-nāsaḥ).[44] The term 'Dāsa,' which means slave or servant, was obtained by extension from its original meaning. It occurs sometimes in the *Ṛgveda* and consistently in the classical literature. Mythological stories derive their inspiration from earth and also from higher, more imaginative or subtle realms. Vedic descriptions, therefore, should not necessarily be literally interpreted as illustrations of the customs and appearance of the aborigines with whom the Āryans were dealing. Similar mythical descriptions are also found in the cultures of other countries. The 'bright gods' were definitely not representations of Indo-Āryan peasants. The black, noseless, and non-human demons (dāsas) do not match the faces of the aborigines depicted in the terracottas of the Indus Valley. The skeletal remains found in Harappa and Lothal in Gujarat also point to a similar conclusion. It has been shown that there was no major variation in the physical type of the people living in this era and that the people were not of Mongoloid, Alpine, Nordic or other supposed migrating races.[45]

Comparisons of these ancient Indian civilisations with those of Crete, Mycenae, and the Aegean Islands reveal several common cultural and religious characteristics. The beginning of man's speculation was essentially focused on natural phenomena. In earlier Minoan and Aegean wall paint-

ings and vases, artists primarily expressed their wonder at plants, flying dolphins, and animals. The remains of this early art prove that there must have been a similarform of religion.[46] In later times, from the Geometrical Period onwards, that attention shifted to anthropomorphic, personal gods. Yet, we can not ignore the fact that certain representations (such as the epiphany of the great nature goddess, the human eye, the Boeotian plate showing Demeter with poppies and spikes, the goddess with the snakes, etc.) indicate that an early adoration was also paid to anthropomorphic gods and goddesses. Similar conclusions can be drawn from the seals of the Indus Valley which depict animals, plants and the fertility god. The portrayal of a god or goddess, the divine 'Parousia,' is accompanied by depictions of plants and animals.

Also, it becomes more and more evident that those prehistoric, theocratically based kingdoms, which at a first glance seem to have developed the same manners of living, actually preserved strong local differences. Such is the case of the prehistoric high culture discovered in Mycenae, which was so intimately related to the Minoan culture that we have come to speak of a Minoan-Mycenaean civilisation as a unit. Subsequent excavations have shown, especially concerning the earlier history of their civilisations' development, that there is a striking difference between Cretan and Greek mainland societies.[47]

With the beginning of the Brāhmaṇa period (800 BC) the localisation of the Vedic civilisation was transferred to the Brahmarṣideśa, 'the country of the Seers,' (i.e., the country between the Yamunā and the Gaṅgā rivers). It was here that the Vedic hymns assumed their final form and the majority of the Upaniṣadic, Paurāṇic, Epic, Jain and Buddhist literatures were composed. In the development of Indian religion, one can observe the tremendous influence of the tribal deity Śiva upon the pale Vedic personage of Rudra and the introduction of several indigenous deities, such as Ayyappan and the female deities Kālī and Durgā, as well as several gods or demigods appearing in the form of animals, such as Hanumān, Gaṇeśa, and the numerous avatāras of Viṣṇu. Certain ideas, customs and religious rituals related to these imported gods were brought together as different faiths expanded. The introduction of idol worship and the turn from ritualism to philosophical thought in the Upaniṣads, have also been seen as resulting from the transformation of the older religion being forced to maintain an apparent unity amongst numerous and diverse faiths in the whole subcontinent. The old Āryan language, religion and customs, gradually mixed with those of the tribes living in the Indian subcontinent, developing into what is now known as 'Hinduism.'[48]

The development and emergence of Hindu thought took on a new spirit and direction after the marriage of the Vedic and non-Vedic faiths. The

absence of sufficient knowledge concerning the customs and beliefs of the non-Āryan aborigines, however, prevents us from drawing a clear-cut line between Āryan and non-Āryan beliefs. We do not know, for instance, whether Sāṅkhya and Indian Shamanism arose from aboriginal non-Vedic traditions or from within the Vedic tradition itself. The lack of reference in early Vedic literature to beliefs and practices such as the doctrine of transmigration, the adoration of serpents, phallus-worship, etc. does not necessarily imply that the Āryans had borrowed them from Indian aborigines. They might also have co-existed in their own culture since remote antiquity. One and the same society could have developed within itself different, and even opposite, trends of beliefs, such as those found in the cults of Apollo and Dionysos in Greece.

GREEK AND VEDIC GODS

There is an important phonetical and conceptual similarity between the Vedic Dyaus and the Greek Zeus (Dias), which has been seen as being the result of early contact between the two peoples. For the Greeks, from Homer onwards at least, Zeus is primarily the god of sky and weather. He is the deity who lives in the sky from which he sends the rain and controls the weather.[49] He is the son of Cronos but Cronos himself, who had been banished by Zeus at sometime in the dim past, is scarcely mentioned.[50] Zeus is the Highest (Ὕπατος), the Supreme (Μέγιστος), the Best (Ἄριστος), and as such is often imagined as the ruler (Ἄναξ and Βασιλεὺς) and father (πατὴρ)[51] of gods and men. Archilochos of Paros, as far back as the middle of the seventh century, says:

> Zeus, Father Zeus, thou reign'st in heaven above
> Watching the works of mortal men,
> Knavish or just; yea, all the beasts that more
> Have rights and wrongs within thy ken.[52]

According to the divine genealogy, Zeus, Poseidon, Hades, Hera, Demeter and Estia were sons and daughters of Cronos and only Hermes, Hephaistos, Apollo, Ares, Artemis, Aphrodite, Athena, Dionysos and a few minor deities were considered to be the children of Zeus. He, however, is addressed as 'father' even by those gods who are not his natural children and all stand up in honour of his presence when he enters.[53] In like manner, the wedding of Zeus and Hera was the prototype of all weddings.[54] On a few occasions Zeus, like the Vedic Indra by the Āryans, is addressed as friend (φίλος) by the Athenians in their prayers which beseech him to bestow rain.[55] In the Orphic tradition, Aeschylos, and in the pantheism of Stoa, Zeus is glorified even further. He is the supreme reality that permeates everything in this world, the non-dual cause, the mother and father of

the universe, that which exists in the past present and future, the Destiny, the Providence, and the Law.[56]

In the *Rgveda* the word 'Dyaus' (from the Sk. √div=to shine) occurs about five hundred and fifty times and is used to designate the abstract divinity of 'sky' and sometimes of 'day.' No hymn is dedicated exclusively to him, as is the usual case for less important deities. He is the father and creator (Dyaus pitā ganitā).[57] As 'Father Heaven' he is coupled with 'Mother Earth' and they together represent the universal parents. Sometimes he is described as the father of Uṣā, Aśvins, Agni and other deities. He bears the title of 'great god' (Asura), a description common to all deities of the early period. Twice he is called 'Father Heaven' (Dyaus pitar).[58] In about twenty places the word is used in its feminine gender.[59] There are a few isolated passages in which we can trace anthropomorphic and theriomorphic descriptions. He is described as being accoutred with a lightening bolt (aśanimat) and smiling through the clouds. Both have been interpreted as allusions to lightening in the sky. On other occasions he is described as a bull or a red bull bellowing downwards or as a black steed bedecked in pearls. The first of these images alludes to paternal power, the second to the night sky studded with stars.

'Dyaus Pitṛ' and the phonetically equivalent Greek 'Zeus (Dias) pater' (Ζεὺς πατὴρ) share two common characteristics. Both are used to express the personal relationship of 'father,' and both are related to the sky. Based on this linguistic and character identity, several scholars recognised, in the personages of Dyaus and Dias, preservation of a Proto-Indo-European deity who was connected to heaven and light.[60] A significant distinction between them is that the Vedic god plays a secondary role and has little individuality, while the Olympian god is clearly anthropomorphic and supreme in power. A few scholars have assumed that the Greek god, who is of a considerably later period, had increasingly gained his greatness beginning in a more primitive age in which he had been conceived to be identical with the sky.

Max Müller[61] has explained this phenomenon in his theory of the evolution of the concept of deity. He said that the concept of deity passed through different stages and that an earlier animistic belief gradually developed into an anthropomorphic conception of the god, in which man felt the presence of divine entities that behaved like himself in all natural phenomena. He also quoted Epicharmos[62] and Prodicos[63] to show the connection of the anthropomorphic Greek religion with an earlier stage of worship of natural phenomena.[64] Other scholars have attributed anthropomorphism to the imagination and intuition of the poets. Herodotos[65] considered that it was Homer and Hesiod who made a theogony for the Hellenes, who gave the gods their names, and distributed among them their offices and arts.

Xenophanes, who denied the anthropomorphic gods altogether, criticised the same poets for projecting all human weaknesses upon the gods. "Homer and Hesiod have attributed to the gods all things that are a shame and a disgrace among men, stealing and committing adultery and deceiving each other."[66]

The Homeric religion is an advanced polytheism. Personifications of natural phenomena, such as Oceanos, Ouranos, etc. occur but they are not attributed with power and do not play a significant role. Neither prayers nor worship are addressed to them. The Olympian gods are arranged in a hierarchy and are organised as a divine family under the supreme rule of the Father-god, Zeus. Gods are viewed as concrete and immortal beings with sharply defined personalities. Apart from the Olympian gods there are numerous lower-grade deities, such as the wind, the river and sea-demons, Mermaids and Nymphs, the sky gods (Helios, Selene, Eos, Iris, etc.), group deities (Muses, Seirenes, Moirai, Erinyes, Ores, Charites, Kabeiroi, Kouretes, etc.) and other minor deities (Eve, Eros, Peitho, Tyche, Themis, Hypnos, Thanatos, etc.). They are imagined as nature-spirits transformed into anthropomorphic and theriomorphic form.

In the early Ṛgvedic hymns, the gods are closely associated with natural phenomena, such as the sun, wind, dawn, fire, rain, thunder, lightning, mountains, rivers, etc. There is no idol- or temple- worship. There are a few instances of animistic veneration of natural objects, such as the worship of the purifying waters, different kinds of plants, stones, weapons, etc. The great Vedic gods are personified and individualised though to a lesser degree than those of the Greeks. They are conceived as human in appearance but with the sole exception of Indra, none has the clear cut features of the Greek deities. Unlike Greek gods, the Vedic ones are not organised in a family or a group under the rule of a single supreme god. Their number is stated in the *Ṛgveda* to be both three and thirty-three. The most predominant Vedic gods are: Agni, who is never disconnected from fire; Indra, the sky god who brings down the rain to earth; Varuṇa, the lord of cosmic order; and Uṣā, the dawn and daughter of the sky.

The Vedic poets expressed closeness, intimacy, and friendship with some of their important gods. In certain hymns Indra is invoked simply as a man (naraḥ) and Agni is addressed as the chief human being among other human beings (nṛṇam nṛtamaḥ). In other hymns, Agni, Indra and other chief deities are invoked like a father. Aditi, 'the boundless' or 'the infinite' is not merely the mother of the Ādityas, but she is represented as the mother of all gods. In each hymn a particular god is praised as the greatest and highest and all others are placed in a secondary and almost insignificant position (Henotheism or Kathenotheism). In addition, there were several minor gods, such as the Maruts, the Ṛbhus, the Vahnis and the Aśvins. As

Debi Prasad Chattopadhyaya[67] has suggested, they were perhaps ancient heroes who gradually lost their personal identity and were raised to the ranks of the gods.

Neither the Greek nor the Indian gods were treated as existing through all eternity. Like men, the gods came into being after the creation of the world. But while immortality was seen as an original and essential characteristic of the Greek gods, the Vedic had to acquire it after their birth. In the *Ṛgveda* immortality was a gift bestowed by Savitṛ or by Agni, or it was attained either by drinking the soma (or amṛta) or by the performance of austerity and rituals. The heaven or the highest mountains were essentially the abode of the gods. The Greek gods ate delicious and celestial food called ambrosia (ἀμβροσία) and drank nectar (νέκταρ), the Indian gods drank soma (the intoxicating juice, which was offered to gods at the time of Vedic sacrifices). While the food of the Greek gods was celestial and no mortal could taste it, the Vedic soma was extracted from a particular creeper which grew on a mountain. After offering the sacrificial libation to gods, the Vedic priests were allowed to drink the remaining portions. Both Greek and Indian gods were listening to the prayers of men and granted them vitality, health, wealth, etc. Along with the normal anthropomorphic conceptions of the deity we have, in both religions, the powers of evil which were often represented as theriomorphic demons (Titans, Asuras, etc.). They were threatening to men and fought against gods.

Parallels between the gods of the two religions have been drawn between Sūrya and Helios (Ἥλιος), Aśvins and Dioskouroi (Διόσκουροι), Varuṇa and Ouranos (Οὐρανός), and Uṣā and Eos (Ἠώς). Both Sun-gods have a chariot; the Vedic is drawn by one or seven horses (Charits) while the Greek by two or four.[68] In both traditions, the 'Divine Twins' (Aśvinaou, Διόσκουροι) are associated with the horses, but the etymologies of their names are unrelated and the stories have different plots. The equation 'Varuṇa = Οὐρανός' presents certain linguistic and literal difficulties. Similarly, the important Vedic natural god Uṣā (Dawn) has but a secondary place in the Greek pantheon; Eos stands behind the shadow of the Olympian gods.

Yama, the Indian god of death, who shares common characteristics with Pluto, gains in importance only in the middle Upaniṣads, especially in the *Kaṭha*. Other more distant equations have also been drawn between Sarameya and Hermes, Yaviṣṭha and Hephaistos, and Swāhā and Estia.

The threefold division of the world into earth, air, and heaven occurs in both traditions. In like manner, cosmogonical myths ascribing the creation of the world to an indescribable primordial mass or to a cosmic egg[69] are found in both mythologies. However, there is nothing in Greek religion which parallels the creation out of the cosmic giant of the *Puruṣa Sūkta*[70]

nor the chief creator gods, such as Prajāpati and Viśvakarmā of the later Saṁhitās and Brāhmaṇas.

THE PROTO-INDO-EUROPEANS

The linguistic similarities between Latin, Greek and Sanskrit were noted by European scholars (viz. Fillippo Sasseti, 1585; Benjamin Schultze, 1725; Father Coeurdoux, 1767, and others) as early as the sixteenth century AD. But it was Sir William Jones, in his famous presidential address to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1786, who first suggested to a broader community of scholars that the close affinities existing between the Indo-European languages are the outcome of their descent from a "common source."

> The Sanskrit language, whatever be its antiquity, is of wonderful structure; more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either; yet bearing to both of them a stronger affinity, both in the roots of verbs, and in the forms of grammar, than could possibly have been produced by accident; so strong, indeed, that no philologer could examine them all without believing them to have sprung from some common source which perhaps no longer exists. There is a similar reason, though not quite so forcible, for supposing that both the Gothic and the Celtic, though blended with a different idiom, had the same origin with the Sanskrit; and the old Persian might be added to the same family.[71]

This semi-fallacious statement gave rise to the Āryan Invasion theory, according to which the Indo-Europeans or Proto-Indo-Āryans, who shared an identical language and culture, originally lived together in one area and later migrated in different directions, spreading their language and culture to a vast area in Europe and Asia. Some of them settled in Greece, while others, the so called Indo-Iranians, settled between North India and Iran. The original Proto-Indo-European idiom gradually split into different languages as it merged with the languages of the aboriginal people whom the Āryans met in their new settlements. This period of separation from the parent language has been traced back to a time between the fourth and third millennium BC and many places, such as the Caspian Sea, Lithuania, Mongolia and even the North Pole[72] have been suggested as the original homeland.

The Indo-European Theory has been supported by a great number of European scholars, who tried to derive evidence from comparative linguistics and mythologies, as well as from archaeological and anthropological findings. In spite of their zealous efforts however, no substantial evidence was adduced and the theory came under dispute. Alternative theories, such as the Āryan Harappa theory, the Mediterranean Urbevölkerung,

and the Indian Urheimat theory were also presented. The Āryan Harappa theory claims that the Indo-Āryans where indigenous for an unknown period of time in the lower central Himalayan regions and that the Indus Valley Civilisation was developed by them. The second alternative theory ascribes the origin of civilisation to the primeval Mediterranean stock and the last is an Indian version of the Āryan Invasion theory which asserts that the Āryans, instead of migrating from Europe to India, went the other way round.

Under the influence of the nationalistic trends of the western academic world, the Āryan Invasion theory was accepted, in the past, by several eminent Indian scholars (including S. Radhakrishnan), but no hypothesis of this kind won much support in India.[73] Though the discovered facts cannot be entirely ignored, it is extremely difficult to distinguish between external borrowings and internal growths in this period. In trying to frame the historical character of the prehistoric people we are mostly dealing with conjecture.

The progress in linguistic studies has shown that the linguistic similarities, both thematic and grammatical, between Homeric Greek and Vedic Sanskrit are indeed amazing.[74] But this is not convincing enough evidence to support the theory of the immigration of the Āryans from a common former dwelling (Urheimat). There are serious difficulties in accepting that language similarities are an undeniable testimony to the assumption of a common origin. It is known, for instance, that people of a great variety of races speak Indo-European languages and not all scholars will agree that all of them could have belonged originally to the same stock. Similarities in speech might had been due to the diffusion caused by direct and indirect contacts and migrations, as well as to similar ideological, genetic and environmental conditionings.

The worship of natural forces, such as sky and earth and theiridentification with universal parents is familiar in China, New Zealand and non-Indo-European religions.[75] Similarities in customs, such as the patriarchal structure of society; social divisions between priests, rulers and common people; the performance of sacrifices; the burial or cremation of the dead, etc. are also found in different and unconnected places all over the world. If birth and death, and suffering and happiness, are common experiences everywhere then we need not wonder why man's reflections, expressed in myths and religious symbolism, were more or less similar.

This is not to say that there were no migrations or that all the ancient tribes were indigenous and isolated from each other. Direct and indirect contacts, influences and movements of people are certain to have taken place since the beginning of humanity. Several peoples, such as the Kurgans and other nomads have spread their culture over great distances. But it is

quite another thing to claim that they were all cultural or racial descendants of one original race. All that can be gathered from the evidence presented by comparative studies is the degree to which the different languages and cultures are affiliated with each other. We cannot argue any historical cause for their differentiation and affiliation just as we cannot argue about the reason for the existence of different races and languages.

We do not possess any historically attested evidence to prove direct access and mutual interaction between Greece and India in such an early period. Consequently, with vast areas of humanity's past remaining in the darkness of ignorance, all theories are purely hypothetical. When history fails to provide us with substantial evidence, man takes refuge in myths and there hopes to discover some hint concerning the possibility of long-forgotten prehistoric connections.

MYTHICAL CONTACTS

Both Greeks and Indians had claimed early contacts with each other from prehistoric and mythical times. Megasthenes (beginning of the third century BC), who lived in the court of Candragupta Maurya as ambassador for King Seleucos of Syria, stated that the men of greatest learning in India narrated that when the people of the country were living in villages, Dionysos appeared from regions lying to the West.[76] When Dionysos reached India he founded cities, gave laws, bestowed wine and taught the Indians to cultivate their land. He first yoked oxen to the plough and made most Indians agriculturists instead of nomads. He also equipped them with the arms of warfare. Dionysos instructed them to revere various gods, but especially himself, with the clashing of cymbals and beating of drums. He taught Indians to dance in the Satiric fashion (the dance called 'cordax' among Greeks), showed them how to wear long hair in honour of the god with the conical cap and how to use ointments.[77] After setting everything in order, Dionysos designated Spatembas as king of the land and then left India.[78]

In another, but less popular story, a campaign in India has been ascribed to Hercules. Megasthenes said that the Indians themselves narrate that Hercules wore a (lion) garb like the Theban Hercules and that he was called 'Indigenous' (Ἰνδοῖσι γηγενέα λέγεσθαι).[79] There is something in this description that makes us think that this Hercules although different, was a similar personage to that of the Greek semi-god. According to Megasthenes, Hercules was chiefly honoured by the Susenians (an Indian tribe), in the two great cities of Methora (probably Mathura) and Clisobora. Hercules had many wives and many sons, but only one daughter named Pandaea (Πανδαίη). She later became queen of a country named after her.[80] The greatest and most renowned of the cities founded by Hercules was Palibothra

(Pataliputra).[81] About the date of the arrival of the Greek heroes in India, Megasthenes tells us that between the reigns of Dionysos and Candragupta (Σανδρόκοττος) one hundred and fifty-three kings had been enthroned and that over six thousand and forty-two years had elapsed. He also tells us that the Indians themselves knew that Dionysos was fifteen generations earlier than Hercules.[82] Julius Solinus[83] accounts 6,451 years from Father Bacchos to Alexander (356–323 BC).

The stories of the campaigns of the Greek heroes in India became very popular during the times of Alexander, who was regarded as 'the second Dionysos'[84] and as a descendant of Hercules.[85] Arrian[86] tells us that when Alexander reached Nysa, the leader (κρατεύων) of the city known as Acuphis, visited him accompanied by thirty deputies. He requested Alexander to allow them to live freely and to be governed by their own laws, as the city was founded by Dionysos himself, who had left soldiers there who were no longer fit for military service. He furthermore said that Dionysos named the city after his nurse Nysa, and the mountain nearby as Meros (Gr. μηρὸς = thigh), because he was born from the thigh of Zeus.[87] Arrian's doubt of their ethnic purity[88] and the insignificant proof (i.e., the ivy plant), brought by the Nysaeans to verify the truth of their own words, however, point to the conclusion that those people were not Greek; otherwise they would have spoken Greek and known about the temples and statues of Dionysos.

Strabo[89] said that the Oxydracae also claimed descent from Dionysos because the vine grows in their country and because they display great pomp in processions. Their kings set out from the palace on various occasions flaunting flowered robes and attended by musicians beating drums. But he rightly noticed that these accounts are fabulous and are impugned by many writers, especially what is said about the vine and wine, since the greater part of Armenia and the whole Karmania lie beyond the Euphrates and across a great part of each of these countries good vines grow and good wine is produced.

Eratosthenes[90] thought the Macedonians circulated the myths in a similar manner as that of the myth of the cave of Prometheus at Paropamisadae, to gratify Alexander's pride and exaggerate his importance. Strabo cited Sophocles and Homer to testify of the Greeks' knowledge of the city of Nysa in pre-Alexandrian times.[91] But he also expressed doubts about the myths: "Megasthenes and a few others think the stories of Hercules and Dionysos credible, but most writers, and among them Eratosthenes, regard them as incredible and fabulous like the Grecian stories."

Philostratos said that on Mount Nysa, Apollonios of Tyana found a shrine of Dionysos. This temple consisted of a circular plot of ground, enclosed by a hedge row of laurels, vines and ivy, all of which had been planted by

Bacchos himself. In the interior, Bacchos had placed his own statue, in the form of an Indian youth, which was made of white stone.[92] Philostratos also stated that Indians do not agree with the Greek story that Theban Bacchos, with his bacchanals, conquered and overran India. The Indians cite, among other proofs (for Dionysos' Indian origin), a discus of Indian silver in the treasury at Delphi, which bears the following inscription, "Dionysos the son of Semele and Zeus from India to the Delphian Apollo."[93] Nevertheless, the Indians who dwell in the Caucasos (Hindukush) and along the River Cophen believe that he was an Assyrian stranger, not unacquainted, however, with the Theban Bacchos; while those who inhabit the region between the Indus and Ganges declare that the Theban Bacchos was his disciple and imitator, though he called himself the son of Zeus and had lived safely inside his father's thigh until he was born. Dionysos obtained from him a mountain called Meros, which is near Nysa. They add that in honour of his Indian prototype, he planted Nysa with vines brought from Thebes.[94]

Mount Meros might be identified with the Mount Meru mentioned in Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* as an important religious place in the West. According to the Indian text, Suṣena while giving instructions to Sugrīva to search for the kidnapped Sītā in the Northwest region, describes Mount Meru as a place where people and gods used to gather for worship. It is said that on Meru lived a great sage known as Meru-Sāvarṇi who knew dharma (righteousness) and who glowed with the splendour of his own austerities (prastavyo merusāvarṇirmaharṣiḥ sūryasaṁnibhaḥ). The mountain was considered to be the abode of Varuṇa, the guardian deity of the western quarter, (niketaṁ pāśahastasya varuṇasya mahātyanaḥ), and as the place where the sun set, "Only thus far is possible for the apes to go, O chiefs, we do not know what lies beyond (na jānīmastataḥ paraṁ) as there is neither sun nor landmark there."[95]

What seems to become clear, finally, is that Mount Meros was a great religious centre and that the Macedonians had mistaken the local deity with the mountaineer Dionysos in a similar way as Megasthenes had done few years later in India. The deity of the mountain, whoever it might have been, saved the Nysaeans.

These tales were popularised in Alexandrian and post-Alexandrian times and for centuries were commonly believed by the Greek people. But what do pre-Alexandrian records have to say about them? Dionysos is known to have been associated with Mount Nysa and Bactria but his campaign to India has not been mentioned. According to Euripides (who lived more than a century before Alexander), Dionysos was the promoter of civilisation, a lawgiver, and a lover of peace. He is also said to have campaigned and conquered all of Asia. In the opening of his play *Bacchai*, the poet

describes the return of Dionysos from Asia, mentioning various Asiatic countries, including Bactria, but not India.

Far now behind me lies the golden ground
Of Lydian and of Phrygian; far away
The wide hot plains where Persians Sunbeams play,
The Bactrian war-holds, and the storm-oppressed
Clime of the Mede, and Araby the Blest,
And Asia all, that by the Salt Sea lies
In proud embattled cities, motley-wise
Of Hellene and Barbarian inter wrought;
And now I come to Hellas—having taught
All the world else my dances and my rite
Of mysteries, to show me in men's sight
Manifest God.[96]

Comparisons between Greek and Indian deities have been an object of attention for scholars throughout history. Alexander Polyhistor (first half of the first century BC) tells us that the deities worshipped by the Brāhmaṇas were Hercules and Pan.[97] Pliny[98] (first century AD) in his description of Ceylon (Taprobane, now Sri Lanka, first mentioned by Onesicritos) also mentions that the people on the island worship Hercules and that their king was dressed like Father Bacchos. Alberuni[99] (*c.* AD 1030) says, "If you compare Greek theology with that of the Hindus you will find that Brahman is described in the same way as Zeus by Aratos." Bishop Heber (first half of the nineteenth century) describes the similarities between Greek and Indian deities with the following words:

I was never so forcibly struck with the identity of Rama and Bacchos. Here were before me Bacchos, his brother Ampelus, the Satyrs, (smeared with wine lees) and the great Pan commanding them. The fable, however, can hardly have originated in India, and has probably been imported both by the Greeks and Brahmins from Cashmere, or some other central country where the grape grows, unless we suppose that the grape has been merely an accidental appendage to Bacchos' character, arising from the fact that the festival occurs during the vintage.[100]

From the above descriptions we might safely deduce that the Greeks observed several similarities between the Indian and Greek gods. Being fascinated by the current myths of their time, identified the two principal local deities, Śiva and Vasudeva-Kṛṣṇa, with Dionysos and Hercules respectively. Allan Dahlquist[101] has supported the view that the God worshipped in Mathura in 300 BC was Indra and not Kṛṣṇa, the latter being a deity of minor significance at that time.[102] Other scholars have suggested that Hercules should be identified with Śiva.[103] The existence of an early Indian prototype of Hercules, however, may not unreasonably be argued,

especially when we take into consideration that the Indian deity Śiva, as well as several Indian sages were dressed in the skin of tiger and other animals.[104]

The Indians advanced their own theories. According to the *Mahābhārata*[105] and the Purāṇas,[106] the Yavanas (supposed Greeks) were the descendants of Turvasu. The genealogical lineage[107] of the Vedic king descends from Viṣṇu in the following order: Brahmā, Atri, Gandra, Buddha, Purūravas, Āyus, Nahuṣa, Yayāti, Turvasu. Turvasu was the son of Yayāti, an eminent king in the Lunardynasty. Yayāti had two wives: Śarmiṣṭā and Devayānī. Śarmiṣṭā bore him three sons: Druhyu, Anudruhyu and Pūru, and Devayānī bore him two: Yadu and Turvasu. Yadu founded the Yādava line (Yadavaṁśa) which was later glorified by the birth of Kṛṣṇa. According to the Paurāṇic tale, Yayāti was once cursed to become old. He called his sons and asked if any of them would exchange their youth for his old age. All, except Pūru, refused and so Yayāti cursed them and Turvasu had to live as a king of wicked, low tribes and barbarians (mlecchas). He became overlord of the Yavanas in the western part of the kingdom.[108]

Turvasu may be identified with the extolled Vedic King Turvaśa who is frequently mentioned in the *Ṛgveda*, usually in connection with Yadu.[109] The mention of Anus, Pruhyas, Turvaśas, Yadus and Pūrus in the Veda, makes it perfectly reasonable to assert that later myths drew their material from earlier Vedic literature. Turvaśa is known to have taken part in the war against the Sudas, by whom he was defeated but he managed to escape.[110] Hopkins[111] has suggested an etymological meaning of his name on account of his fleeing (tura) from battle. The location of Turvaśa's original home remains unclear. He is known to have crossed the Paruṣṇī river, but from which side is disputed. Keith and Macdonell have seen his advancement from the west eastwards as the more probable.[112] There is also a Vedic hymn to Agni which calls Turvaśa from afar.[113] Turvaśa often appears as a worshipper of Lord Indra and on some occasions Indra and Agni clearly assist him.[114]

Turvaśa frequently appears in Vedic hymns dating back as far as the second millennium BC, but his connection with the Yavanas is not mentioned in these earliest texts. The names of the descendants of Turvasu, viz. Vahri, Bharga, Bhānumān, Tribhānu, Karandhama, and Maruta,[115] are all Indian. In the epics and later Indian literature, however, there are more references which describe the Yavanas as fallen Āryans and as people who were entitled, in the past, to study the Vedas.[116]

Although there is no doubt that in its present form ancient Indian literature contains many later interpolations, this cannot suffice to justify the view that all references to Yavanas are from a laterdate. The connection of the Yavanas with Turvasu, for instance, suggests the preservation of Vedic

data and though we do not meet with the Yavanas in Vedic literature we cannot exclude the possibility that some early Vedic stories about them could have been lost, as have so many others. The traditional Indian belief, however, that the Yavanas, Pahlavas, Cīnas, and other races were of Indian origin (i.e., fallen Kṣatriyas) is not true, because the Pahlavas, Cīnas, Draviḍas and Śakas have been identified as Persians, Chinese, Dravidians, and Scythians respectively. This suggests that the Brāhmaṇas, ever ready to assume governance of the whole world utilising their own social system (varṇāśramam), invented the theory of Indian origin to satisfactorily explain the obviously superior political and military capacities of the foreign invaders.

FIRST HISTORICAL CONTACTS

During the first years of the pre-classical era, Greek scholars began visiting other nations to advance their own knowledge. Herodotos,[117] the father of history, informs us that the Athenian statesman and lawgiver Solon (*c.* 639–559 BC) and all the Greek sophists of the time were gathered in the wealthy court of Sardeis. Croesus (d. *c.* 546 BC), the last king of Lydia, and Amasis of Egypt became patrons of Greek wisdom and employed Greek scholars. Thales, for instance, is known to have taught the Egyptians how to solve practical and mathematical problems, such as what produced the rise of the Nile, estimating distances of the ships at sea and calculating the heights of the pyramids. He also served Croesus as a military engineer.

The Greeks' friendly relations with Lydia facilitated further contacts with the cosmopolitan centre of Babylon. The Babylonians were known to have developed primarily medical, astronomical, mathematical, alchemical and astrological disciplines.[118] It is also known that the influence of Babylon extended to the Indian kingdoms.[119] Hence, the possibilities for direct or indirect contact between the Greek and Indian people were multiplied but, once again, we do not possess even the slightest material evidence to prove that any such contact took place.[120]

In the middle of the sixth century BC folk tales were brought to Samos from the East by the Phrygian slave, Aesop, which later became popular in Athens during the time of Aristophanes. Several tales, and particularly those which describe monkeys, crocodiles, etc. are of Oriental origin and some of their counterparts are found in Indian myths of *Pañcatantra, Hitopadeśa,* and the Buddhist Jātakas. Consequently a controversy has arisen concerning their Greek or Indian origin.[121] There is no logical ground in ascribing them to a single author. Halliday rightly suggested that the stories were a collective creation of people belonging to different nations and different generations.[122] However, even if it is presumed that there was a common

source of origin, there is no substantial evidence to support the notion that the influence flowed from India to Greece. The Indian texts, in their present form, are a date later than Aesop, yet there is always the possibility that they might have been derived from earlier sources. The dogs' satire on priestly ritual found in *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*,[123] for instance, suggests that the idea of portraying animals parleying with human tongue was not alien to the ancient Indians.

The expansion of the powerful Persian Empire eastwards to the Indus and westwards to the Mediterranean Sea at the end of the sixth century BC opened a new chapter in the relations between the two peoples. The Ionian states in Asia Minor and the Indian Northwest regions were included in the list of the twenty satrapies of Darius.[124] For the first time Greeks and Indians met each other in the offices and palaces of the Persian kings and perhaps took the opportunity to exchange scientific (especially medical) information. It is likely that the Indian guests became interested in the Greek medicine as the Greek physicians were receiving great respect from, and were employed in the courts of, the Persian kings. At the same time the Indians became well-known for their sound health.[125] Hence, it is most likely that the Greek physicians kept an eye on their diet regulation and medicines. This can be attested by the fact that the Hippocratians[126] were familiar with an Indian medicine ('Ινδικόν φάρμακον) which was used against eye and teeth diseases and foul breath. The Persians called it 'peperi' (Gr. πιπέρι, Tamil and Sanskrit, pippalī), which is simply the hot-tasting pepper produced from the dried berries of the native to Indian plant (Piperaceae).

Both Scylax of Karyanda and Ctesias of Knidos, authors of the first books on India, were employed by Persian kings. In 517 BC, Darius I, sent out the Greek sea captain Scylax to explore the course of the Indus river.[127] The trip lasted thirty months (τριηκοστῷ μηνί). His book *Ges Periodos (Γῆς Περίοδος)*,[128] subsequently lost, probably contained important information about this exploration. From the few casual references to it preserved in the works of later writers, we come to know that Scylax wrote about geography and the customs of the people of India. He described the people who live under the earth (Troglodytai), monstrous races, such as the Skiapodes, Otoliknoi, Monophalmoi, Enotiktontes, and Ekrapeloi, and many other marvels. Also, there is one important reference to Scylax in the work of Aristotle which suggests that the Greek captain noticed the unaltered division between rulers and ruled classes in India. The statement of Aristotle is as follows:

> As we do not find anything corresponding to the great difference that Scylax states to exist between kings and subjects in India, it is clear that for many reasons it is necessary for all to share alike in ruling and being ruled in turn. For

equality is meaningful for persons who are of like status, and also it is difficult for a constitution to endure that which is framed in contraversion of justice.[129]

Ctesias was the physician of Darius II (405–394 BC) and Artaxerxes Mnemon (394–379 BC). Although he never went to India, he said that he had many opportunities to hear tales of India from travellers and to report what he himself had witnessed in the palace of the Persian kings. Ctesias authored, in the Ionian dialect, an extensive book about Persia (*Persica*), one smaller one about India (*Indica*), and a few others about the Persian economy and geography and narratives of journeys. All his books were lost but a good number of fragments from the first two were saved in the *Myriobilion seu Bibliotheka,* a review of Greek literature containing extracts from two hundred and eighty volumes selected by the ninth century Byzantine Patriarch Photios.[130] Ctesias' *Indica* is contained in the seventy-second book of the *Bibliotheka.*

Neither Scylax nor Ctesias seem to have discovered any treasures of wisdom in India. The remaining fragments of the first Greek writers are full of imaginary descriptions of monstrous people, strange animals and fabulous mountains, springs and rivers. Many later scholars accused both Scylax and Ctesias of being untrustworthy and liars. The reliability of their descriptions, however, might be sought in Indian myths. Myth and reality were so closely interwoven in those days that it was almost impossible to separate them. Strange people with one eye (μονόφθαλμοι), for example, had been known to Greeks since Homer (κύκλωπες).[131] It was not difficult, therefore, for them to believe in the existence of strange beings when they heard the new myths, legends and beliefs of the Indian people whom they met. They might have wanted to impress their countrymen by collecting these stories but, at the same time, it is quite possible that they were not a product of their own imagination. A more careful study might contribute to our limited knowledge of lost Indian myths and assist us in verifying the chronology of corresponding myths found in old Indian texts. Counterparts of the Greek descriptions have been found in the *Mahābhārata*, the Purāṇas and Varāhamihira's *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*. A few examples are: the "μονόφθαλμοι" (monophalmoi, i.e., those with one eye, Sk. ekavilocana or ekalocana or ekākṣa or lalāṭākṣa); the "κυνοκέφαλοι" (kynokephaloi, i.e., the dog-headed, Sk. śunāmukha or śvamukha);[132] the "μακροκέφαλοι" (makrokephaloi, i.e., the long-headed, Sk. dīrghagrīvāsyakeśa); the "ὠτόκλινοι" (otoklinoi, i.e., those who sleep on their ears; Sk. karṇaprāvaraṇa); the "μονόκωλοι or μονόσκελοι" (monokoloi or monoskeloi, i.e., the one-footed, Sk. ekapāda or ekacaraṇa); and the "ἐνοτίκτοντες" (enotiktontes, i.e., those who give birth only once in their life, Sk. ekagarbha).

Megasthenes, who lived three centuries later, described similar fabu-

lous tribes. Among them are the "ὠκύποδες" (okypodes, monoskeloi or monokoloi, mentioned by Ctesias), who had one foot and in running could leave the horse behind; they were confounded with the "σκιάποδες" (skiapodes mentioned by Scylax and Ctesias) the men who covered themselves with the shadow of their foot; the "παμφάγοι" (pamphagoi, i.e., those who were eating everything, Sk. sarva bhakṣa); the "ἀμύκτηρες" (amykteres, i.e., noseless people, Sk. anāsās mentioned in *Ṛgveda*); the "ὀπισθοδάκτυλοι" (opisthodaktyloi, antipodes mentioned by Ctesias, Sk. paścāngulajas) whose heels are in front and their instep and toes are turned backwards; the "ἐνωτοκοῖται" (enotokoitae, otoliknoi mentioned by Scylax and Ctesias), who had ears down to their feet; the "μονόμματοι" (monomatoi, monophthalmoi mentioned by Scylax and Ctesias, Sk. ekākṣās); the "ἄστομοι" (astomoi, i.e., those who did not have a mouth, Sk. amukteres); the "Ὑπερβόρειοι" (Hyperboreioi, i.e., Hyperboreans, mentioned by Pindar as inhabitants of the extreme North), who used to live a thousand years;[133] and the "τρισπίθαμοι" (trispithamoi, pygmaioi mentioned by Ctesias) whose size was equal to three palms of the human hand; the gold-digging ants (first mentioned by Herodotos), which had a size not inferior to those of foxes, and others.[134]

Besides Scylax and Ctesias, Hecataeos of Miletos (549-486 BC) and Herodotos of Halikarnassos (484–425 BC) are the two other pre-Alexandrian authors who give us important information about India. They did not visit India but collected their material from the works of Scylax and Ctesias and the narratives of other travellers. They limited their descriptions to the North-western region of the Indian subcontinent to the border of the Indus river. Beyond that Herodotos believed there to be a vast desert of sand and the unknown:

> Eastward of India lies a track which is entirely sand. Indeed of all the inhabitants of Asia, concerning whom anything certain is known, the Indians dwell the nearest to the east, and the rising of the sun. Beyond them the whole country is desert on account of the sand.[135]
>
> Asia is bounded on the south by the Red Sea, and on the north by the Caspian and the river Araxes, which flows towards the rising sun. Till you reach India the country is peopled, but further east it is void of inhabitants, and no one can say what sort of region it is. Such then is the shape, and such the size of Asia.[136]

Hecataeos mentioned the 'Indoi' as a distinct tribe like the 'Opiae,' 'Kalatioi,' etc. It seems that he perceived the Indians like the Greeks, who were divided into different tribes and cities. He describes the Gandarioi (Γανδάριοι), Opiae (Ὠπίαι), and Kallatiae (Καλατίαι mentioned as Καλλατίαι and Καλλαντίαι by Herodotos) as Indian tribes and the cities of Kaspapyros (Κασπάπυρος, mentioned as Κασπάτυρος by Herodotos) and Agrante (Ἀργάντη) as Gandarian and Indian respectively.

Velissaropoulos[137] holds the view that these tribes and cities were originally not perceived as Indian and that their subsequent designation as such is due to the interpolation of Hecataeos' *Narrative of the World* (*Περιήγησις Γῆς*) by Stephanos Byzantios (fifth century AD). But this view is not borne out when we examine the descriptions of the early Greek writers, who spoke of India as a country of many nations.

The origin of the term 'India' goes back to the name of the river Indus [Sanskrit 'Sindhu,' Old Persian (Archaemenidian) 'Hiñd'u,' Zend 'Hendu,' Persian 'Hindu,' Gr. "Ινδός"]. The term was used originally by the Persians to denote the people living in the region of the Indus River. The Greeks, even before the campaign of Alexander in India, borrowed the term from the Persians and applied it to the same region ('Ινδική χώρη) and later to the entire region east of the Indus. The earliest usage of the term 'India' in the Greek literature is found in the following verse of Aeschylos (525-456 BC), the first Greek playwright.

> And, furthermore, of roving Indian maids
> Whose camping-grounds by Ethiopia lie,
> And camels burdened even as mules, and bearing
> Riders, as horses bear, mine ears have heard.[138]

Herodotos wrote of the existence of many tribes of Indians who did not speak the same language.[139] The population of the Indians, he said, is by far the greatest in the world.[140] Some of the Indians formed the twentieth satrapy of Darius[141] while others are said to have been situated very far from the Persians, towards the south, and they were never subjects of Darius.[142] Some inhabited the marshes of the river and fed on raw fish which they collected by going out in boats made of reeds.[143] Others who are called Padaeans lived to the east of these. He added that there were Indians on the borders of the city of Caspatyros and the country of Pactyice, to the north of the other Indians, whose mode of life resembled that of the Bactrians.[144] Ctesias and other later Greeks also described India as a vast country:

> Ctesias says that India is not less than the rest of Asia; Onesicritos regards it as the third part of the habitable world and Nearchos says that to traverse the plains only, occupies a journey of four months.[145]

Herodotos[146] was the first to have mentioned the story of gold-digging ants which, as Michel Peissel has suggested, might have been marmots, a type of rodent, which are unusually large in the Himalayas, with bushy fur, a large fox-like tail and razor-sharp teeth and claws. Peissel explained that the confusion with the ants set in because in the Persian language the word for marmot is equivalent to 'mountain ant.'[147] The story of the gold-digging ants was repeated with slight variations by Megasthenes,[148] Nearchos,[149] Dion Chrysostomos,[150] Pliny,[151] and other later writers. Nearchos said that

he saw, somewhere in India, the skin of one of the gold-digging ants which was as large as the skin of a leopard, while Pliny said that the horns of the Indian ant fixed up in the temple of Hercules at Erythrae were an object of great wonder. All descriptions agree that the ant was a fast moving and dangerous animal, and to some degree smaller than a dog.

Herodotos gives us some more material of anthropological interest concerning the manner and customs of Indians. The most remarkable of his accounts concern the Indians' habit of having sexual intercourse in public[152] and the cannibalistic ways of the Kallatiae and Padaioi. The Kallatiae are said to have been used to eating the dead bodies of their parents; reportedly the idea of burial was repugnant to them. Herodotos narrates this custom with the following anecdote:

> Darius, after he had got the kingdom, called into his presence certain Greeks who were at hand, and asked what he should pay them to eat the bodies of their fathers when they died. To which they answered, that there was no sum that would tempt them to do such a thing. He then sent for certain Indians, of the race called Kallatiae, men who eat their fathers, and asked them, while the Greeks stood by and knew by the help of an interpreter all that was said, what he should give them to burn the bodies of their fathers at their decease. The Indians exclaimed aloud, and bade him forbear such language. Such is men's custom; and Pindar was right, in my judgement, when he said, "Law is king over all."[153]

The Kallatiae's cannibalism was limited to eating dead parents, but the Padaioi would kill anyone of their kinsmen who fell sick and then feast upon them.

> If one of their number be ill, man or woman, they take the sick person, and if he be a man, the men of his acquaintance proceed to put him to death, because, they say, his flesh would be spoilt for them; if he pined and wasted away with sickness. The man protests he is not ill in the least; but his friends will not accept his denial—in spite of all he can say, they kill him, and feast themselves on his body. So also if a woman be sick, the women, who are most intimate with her, take her and do with her exactly the same as the men. If one of them reaches to old age, about which there is seldom any question, as commonly before that time they have had some disease or other, and so have been put to death—but if a man, not withstanding comes to be old, then they offer him in sacrifice to their gods, and afterwards eat his flesh.[154]

Cannibalistic customs practised by Indian tribes were also reported by post-Alexandrian Greek authors. Megasthenes[155] mentioned the tribes which inhabit the Caucasos (Hindukush); the author of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*[156] names the tribes Kirrhadae, Bargysoi and the Hippioprosopoi (horse-faced men) or Makroprosopoi (long-faced men); Pliny[157] referred to a north-west tribe known as Casiri; and Ptolemy Claudius, the

geographer (second century AD), said that three Indian islands were inhabited by cannibals.[158]

In the epics and later Indian literature we find several similar descriptions, often attributed to demons, such as the Piśācas, Rākṣasas, and Yakṣas, who are known to have been fond of human flesh. We also read about a few extreme ascetics who practised human sacrifices and cannibalism. These practices were preserved by certain extreme religious sects, such as the Kāpālikas and the Aghorapanthīs. The reasons for this custom might be found in the primitive belief that one partakes the powers and the merits of the dead person by eating certain parts of his body, and in the belief that by doing so one attains a stage free from all mental, ethical, and social distinctions. There is also a more practical explanation which is that most of these wandering cynics were living in a condition of starvation and for them dead bodies were a readily available form of food. In most cases, however, these 'cannibals' appear to have been mentally broken people who demonstrated terrible acts in order to attract the attention, fear, and hopefully worship of the illiterate and superstitious people.[159]

However, the Kallatiae and Padaioi of Herodotos were not ascetics. Their cannibalism was limited to family members, suggesting that cannibalism was considered to be an act of close intimacy. The killing of sick relatives might also be seen as an early practice of euthanasia. The practice of eating relatives does not occur in the Indian literature.[160]

In addition, there are in the pre-Alexandrian Greek writings two isolated passages from which we might infer that the peculiar way of life of the Indian ascetics had started to appear in the Persian world. The first is a passage of Herodotos[161] who mentions that some Indians never killed nor cultivated anything. They did not have houses and they lived upon herbs. They relied upon a grain the size of millet in a pod which sprang spontaneously from the earth. They boiled it and ate it with the pod. If any one of them became sick then he left his community and went to an uninhabited place where he laid down to die. No one cared for him during this time or after his death. The second belongs to Ctesias,[162] who refers to an Indian tribe living in the mountains which did nothing and ate and drank nothing except milk.

Ctesias[163] also mentions a sacred village existing in the midst of an uninhabited region (desert) which is about fifteen days distance from the Mount Sardo. The village was dedicated to the Sun and the Moon (ὅ ἐπ' ὀνόματι τιμῶσι ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης). Every year, when the Sun cooled down, people gathered in this village to perform their sacred rites for thirty-five days and then they returned back to their homes. This is perhaps the earliest reference to the existence of a Sun and Moon cult in ancient India. This cult is not known in Brāhmanical literature where there is only an incidental ref-

erence to the sun and moon in the *Praśna Upaniṣad.* This says that Prajāpati (the lord of creation), desirous of offspring, performed austerity (tapas) and produced the pair, matter (rayi) and life (prāna) which are interpreted as moon and sun.[164] They are the feminine and masculine, the dark and bright principles which penetrate the entire creation. These symbols were worked out to a greater extent in later Tāntrika art and literature, where the two principles are identified with the forms of Śiva and Śakti respectively. Also, in the Buddhist literature the Sun and Moon appeared as deities worshipped by a large number of people.[165]

Ctesias spoke very highly of the justice of the Indians, their obedience to the king, their contempt of death, their good health, and their long lives.[166] The tradition of idealising Indians as the most just (δικαιότατοι) people began with Ctesias, was followed by Xenophon, and continued by Megasthenes and other post-Alexandrian writers. Xenophon, who wrote several eulogistic books for the Persian kings, said that at the time of Cyrus an Indian king took interest in the establishment of peace between Persians and Assyrians and sent a delegation to visit both kings and resolve their dispute.

> And when the Indians came in they said that the king of India had sent them with orders to ask on what ground the Medes and Assyrians had declared war. 'And he has ordered us,' they said 'when we have heard your statement to go also to the Assyrian and ask him the same question and finally, he made us say to both of you that the king of India declares that when he has weighed the merits of the case, he will side with the party wronged' . . . (Cyrus replied) tell the king of India that we propose, in case the Assyrian says he has been wronged by us, to choose the king of India himself to be our arbitrator.[167]

The works of the early Greek writers who lived in Persia found their way to Greece and became known to later generations who thus came to conceive of India as being a land of just people, natural treasures, and marvellous miracles.

We have seen that the Indians were known to Greeks, but were the Greeks known to Indians before the advent of Alexander or not? If so, on what basis can we substantiate this? Herodotos informs us that Indian troops formed part of the army of Xerxes I and fought against Greeks in the battles of Thermopylae (480 BC) and Plataiae (479 BC).[168] No reference exists to demonstrate whether or in what manner these contacts extended beyond the battlefield. Herodotos described the presence of Indian troops in the following passages:

> The Indians wore tree-wool garments, and carried bows of cane and iron-tipped arrows of the same. Such was their equipment; they were appointed to march under the command of Pharnazathres, the son of Artabates.[169]
>
> The Indians were armed in like manner as their footmen; they rode swift

horses and drove chariots drawn by horses and wild asses.[170]

... and the Indian dogs which followed the army.[171]

He chose the Persians who whore breastplates, and 1,000 picked horse; likewise, the Medes, the Shacai, the Bactrians, and the Indians, foot and horse equally.[172]

Facing the Lakedaemonians, Mardonios stationed the Persians ... then the Indians, facing the men from Hermion, Eretria, Styra, and Chalcis.[173]

Based on the description by Herodotos of 'tree-wool' garments, cane bows and arrows of the Indian soldiers, it has been suggested by scholars that those Indians came from tribes living near the banks of the rivers in Bactria and near the Indus.[174] It is likely that the Persians had mobilised a large number of Indian soldiers from the land which they occupied after the expedition of Darius to the Indus valley (*c.* 510 BC).

The earliest Indian reference to Greeks (Yavanas) occurs in Pāṇini's grammar.[175] Pāṇini, an inhabitant of Śalātura near Taxila, mentioned the word 'Yavana' while giving examples for the feminine gender formation of some words in Sanskrit grammar, but he does not say anything about its meaning. Incidentally, Pāṇini's inadequate description of the Yavanas has added to historians' dispute concerning their ethnic identity as well as the accurate date of the great grammarian. Those who hold the view that Pāṇini cannot be placed before 350 BC partly support their argument on the assumption that Pāṇini could not have known of the Yavanas (Greeks) prior to Alexander's invasion (327 BC). Those who fix Pāṇini's date as the fifth century BC or earlier claim that the Indians knew the Yavanas (Ionian Greeks) many centuries before the formation of the Indo-Greek kingdoms in Bactria.[176]

In support of the latter view there is one reference in the Buddhist literature which traces the Yonas (supposed Greeks in Pāli) back to the time of Buddha. This is found in the *Assalāyana Sutta* of *Majjhima Nikāya*, the second book or collection of the *Sutta Piṭaka*, containing discourses of medium length.[177] On the occasion of a discourse between Buddha and a young Brāhmaṇa named Assalāyana, the author has the Buddha speak about the countries of the Yonas and Kambojas, who did not follow the fourfold caste division, but recognised only two classes, namely slaves and free men. This would accurately reflect Greek societies of the classical and Hellenistic eras, which were relatively egalitarian. The two countries were mentioned as places in which the master could become a slave or vice versa. This suggests that the Indians knew that the Yonas did not follow the birth-based caste system and that they had a kind of democratic constitution according to which all shared alike in ruling and being ruled in turn. The Buddha's statement is as follows:

'What do you think about this, Assalāyana? Have you heard that in the coun-

tries of Yona (yonaraṭṭhaṇ) and Kamboja (kambojaraṭṭhaṇ) and other adjacent districts there are only two castes, the master and the slave? And having been a master one becomes a slave; having been a slave one becomes a master?'—'Yes I have heard this, Sir, in Yona and Kamboja . . . having been a slave, one becomes a master.'[178]

If we accept the validity of Buddha's statement it would prove that Indians knew, or at least had heard about, a Yona (perhaps Ionian) state or settlement as early as the end of the sixth century BC. But the authenticity of the canon has been doubted by many recent scholars and no definite conclusion concerning the original teachings of the Buddha has been reached.[179] As there is not sufficient historical or archaeological evidence upon which to clearly posit the existence of Greek settlement in the eastern regions of the Persian Empire in those days, the Buddhist text has been considered to be a literal device of later times. The 'Yona' country is not included in the lists of the states (mahājanapadas) given by the early Buddhist and Jain texts. The *Cullaniddesa* first substitutes Yona for Gandhāra in the list of the sixteen states given in *Aṅguttara Nikāya*.[180]

Nevertheless, India was already famous in Greece as a country extremely rich in gold[181] and this could not pass unnoticed by the Greek merchants, who were ready to risk their lives against the formidable gold-guards, the Griffins of Ctesias and the gold-digging ants of Herodotos. The playwright Sophocles (496–406 BC) clearly promises trade profits from India; "Make good profits, drive your trade, if ye will, in the amber of Sardeis and the gold of India."[182]

It is also quite likely that groups of Greeks settled near to India in the pre-Alexandrian times. This could have been made easier after the occupation of the Ionian cities (545 BC) in Asia Minor. The Persians could also have transferred Ionian soldiers, who had become their subjects, to their eastern borders. In this way they could have stabilised their occupation of Ionia, especially after the revolt of the Ionian cities (499–494 BC), by taking the Ionian fighting men to strengthen their own army in the East. Several other Greek mercenaries joined the army of the Persians not only in their civil wars but also in their wars against Alexander. For instance, in 401 BC Xenophon fought along with thirteen thousand Greeks on the side of Cyrus against his brother and King of Persia, Artaxerxes II.[183] Some of these mercenaries and exiled people might later have married and settled there. When Alexander came, it is possible that he would have found their descendants in Branchidae and other areas, who having de-Hellenised, gained power and wealth and established aristocratic systems of administration.[184]

Arrian's description of Alexander's arrival in Nysa has often been quoted as an attestation of this possibility. Similar claims regarding Greek descent

were made by people living in Samarkande (near present Turkestan) and Branchidae. The latter claimed descent from Branchos, the mythical founder of the temple of Apollo near Miletos in Ionia, but Alexander smashed this city because their forefathers (Milesians) had given the temple treasures to Xerxes.[185]

Further evidence of the existence of pre-Alexandrian Greek settlements in Bactria is suggested by the Persians' threat to revolutionary Ionians that their daughters would be exiled to Bactria;[186] to a lesser extent by linguistic and anthropological evidence; by the myths of Dionysos and Hercules; and by various obscure references given by post-Alexandrian writers such as Diodoros Siculus, Strabo, Curtius Rufus, and others. However, neither the Athenian "owls" depicted on coins found in Afghanistan[187] and Pakistan[188] nor the archaeological discoveries in the city of Ai-Khanum and other sites[189] can be dated to the pre-Alexandrian era.

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3. Cf. J. Boordman, "A Greek Vase from Egypt," *JHS*, vol. LXXVIII, 1958, pp. 47 ff.
4. Cf. "It is certain that many themes were borrowed by Aegean art from Asia and Egypt: the master of animals, the mistress of animals and snakes, antithetical pairs of animals, groups of lions tearing bulls, are known from Sumerian art of the third millennium." T.B.L. Webster, *From Mycenae to Homer*, (Methuen & Co. Ltd., London, 1958), p. 30. See aslo, Gustave Glotz, *The Aegean Civilization*, (Kegan Paul, London, 1925), pp. 202–20.
5. Axel W. Persson, *The Religion of Greece in Prehistoric Times*, (University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1942), pp. 13–15.
6. Ibid., p. 89.
7. Herodotos, II, 44; VI, 47, 1. Cf. Chester G. Starr, *The Origins of Greek Civilisation*, (Jonathan Cape, London, 1962), p. 212.
8. Pindar, *Ol.*, III, 14–16.
9. Walter Burkert, *Griechische Religion der Archaischen und Klassischen Epoche*, [vol. XV of Die Religionen der Menscheit, Ελλην. μετάφρ. Νικ. Μπεζαντάκος—Αφροδίτη Αβαγιανού, *Αρχαία Ελληνική Θρησκεία Αρχαϊκή και Κλασσική Εποχή*, (Εκδόσεις Καρδαμίτσα, Αθήνα, 1993)], chap. III, 3, 4.
10. II, 49.
11. II, 42 and 144. See J. Gwyn Griffiths, "The Orders of Gods in Greece and Egypt (According to Herodotos)," *JHS*, vol. LXXV (1955), pp. 21 and 23.
12. II, 4, 43–52.
13. Cf. Aristotle, *Met.*, A, 3, 983 b 27.
14. Cf. *Ελληνική Μυθολογία*, (Εκδοτική Αθηνών, Αθήνα, 1986), vol. II, p. 202; Burkert, op. cit., chap. I, 3, 6; and Palmer, op. cit., p. 114.

15. See Burkert, op. cit., chaps. I, 3, 3; V, 2, 4.
16. Cf. John Burnet, *Early Greek Philosophy*, [Adam & Charles Black, London, 1963 (1892)], p. 81.
17. See Peter Gorman, *Pythagoras: A Life*, (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1979), p. 89.
18. *Works and Days*, 131.
19. Cf. Burkert, op. cit., chap. V, 2, 4.
20. *Works and Days*, 614.
21. See Herodotos, II, 81, where he compares Egyptian practices with Orphic, Bacchic, and Pythagorean ones.
22. Cf. "All at first have learnt according to Homer," Xenophanes, fr. 10; "Heraclitos and his predecessors derived their philosophy from Homer and even earlier sources," Plato, *Theaet.*, 180 d 2; and "Hesiod is most men's teacher," Heraclitos, fr. 35.
23. See Palmer, op.cit., pp. 3, 27–39; M.G.F. Ventris and John Chadwick, "Documents in Mycenaean Greek," *Antiquity*, 31 (1957), 6, quoted with extensive details in Webster, op. cit., p. 1; John Chadwick, *Reading the Past-Linear B and Related Scripts*, British Museum Publications, London, 1987; D.H.F. Gray, "Mycenaean Names in Homer," *JHS*, vol. LXXVIII, 1958, pp. 43 ff.
24. "ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Αἰθίοπας μετεκίαθε τηλόθ' ἐόντας,
Αἰθίοπας, τοὶ διχθὰ δεδαίαται, ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν,
οἱ μὲν δυσομένου Ὑπερίονος, οἱ δ' ἀνιόντος."
Odyssey, I, 22–24.
25. The term 'Ethiopian' comes from αἴθω, 'I burn' and ὤψ, 'face' and was applied to all sun-tanned, dark complexioned races. The Greeks often confused Ethiopia with India because they had a limited geographical knowledge of the Far East. They did not know about the existence of the Arabian Sea and thought that beyond the Red Sea, Ethiopia and Asia were joined together. Even Alexander thought of the Indus as the Nile. Also, the Greeks confused the Indians with the Ethiopians. Philostratos (*Vita Apollonii*, III, 6, 20; VI, 16) explains that the Ethiopians were originally an Indian race, compelled to leave India because of the impurity contracted by slaying their monarch. They settled near Egypt where they established their own country. Eusebios (*Chronica*, can. 278) says, "The Ethiopians emigrating from the River Indus settled in the vicinity of Egypt." (Αἰθιόπες ἀπὸ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀναστάντες, πρὸς τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ ᾤκησαν.) Similar views describing Ethiopia as a colony of Indians, were made by Julius Africanus, Diodoros, Manetho, Virgil, Ovid, and Syncellus. The confusion between Ethiopia and Indiacontinued up to the Middle Ages in Europe. In the preface of the classic epic *Barlaam and Josaphat*, India is described as being an inner part of Ethiopia (ἐκ τῆς ἐνδοτέρας τῶν Αἰθιόπων χώρας, τῆς Ἰνδῶν λεγομένης). Cf. H.G. Rawlinson, *Intercourse Between India and the Western World*, (Rai Book Service, Delhi, 1977), p. 19.
26. *Supplices*, 286.
27. VII, 70. See also, III, 101, where the complexion of certain Indians is compared with that of the Ethiopians.
28. Cosmas Indicopleustes, II. (*FGrH*, no. 70, F. 30b.) See also, Strabo, I, 2, 28, (*FGrH*, no. 70, F. 30a), where Ephoros describes similar divisions.
29. See A.B. Keith, "The Age of the Rgveda," *CHI*, vol. 1, pp. 71–73.
30. *Rgveda*, VIII, 24, 27.
31. Keith, "The Age of the Rgveda," *CHI*, vol. I, p. 72.
32. The tablets were discovered by Hugo Winckler at the Hittite capital Boghazköi (one hundred kilometres east of Ankara in present day Turkey) in 1907. Cf. *CHI*, vol. 1; pp. 72–6, 320. The origin of these gods is under dispute. Several scholars claim their

proto-Iranian origin while others their Vedic Indian origin. See Jacoby, *JRAS*, no. XXV, 1909, pp. 721–72; K.C. Chattopadhyaya, *Studies in Vedic and Indo-Iranian Religion and Literature*, (Bharatiya Vidya Prakashan, Varanasi, 1976), vol. 1, pp. 91–92.

33. Webster, op. cit., p. 10.
34. *Ṛgveda*, V, 52, 17; VII, 18, 19; X, 75, 5.
35. The Gaṅgā is mentioned directly only once in the *Nadi-stuti* or 'Praise of Rivers' (*Ṛgveda*, X, 75, 5), but it is also referred to in the derivative form 'gāṅgyaḥ' as an epithet of Urukakṣa. S.v. Gaṅgā in *VI*.
36. The surviving Brāhūī speech in Baluchistan, testifies to an early presence of Dravidian tribes in Northwest India. See E.J. Rapson, "Peoples and Languages," *CHI*, vol. 1, p. 37; A.B. Keith, *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upaniṣads*, (Harvard Oriental Series, Lanman, vols. 31 & 32, Harvard University Press, 1925, reprint, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1976), p. 11.
37. Keith (*The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upaniṣads*, p. 12; "The Age of the Rgveda," *CHI*, vol. 1, pp. 78–79) has doubted early contacts with Babylon. But early commercial contacts between India and Babylon seem to have taken place via the Persian Gulf. See J. Kennedy, "The Early Commerce of India with Babylon, 700–300 BC," *JRAS*, 1898, pp. 241–88; Shendge J. Malati, *The Civilised Demons—The Harappans in Ṛgveda*, (Abhinav Publications, New Delhi, 1977), p. 26; Rawlinson, op. cit., pp. 2–15; A.V. Williams Jackson, "The Persian Dominions in Northern India down to the Time of Alexander," *CHI*, vol. 1, p. 294; and U.P. Arora, *Greeks on India—Skylax to Aristoteles*, (Indian Society for Greek and Roman Studies, Bareilly, 1996), p. 1.
38. *Ṛgvedic India*, (Calcutta, 1920, revised ed., Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1971), pp. 194–232.
39. See Arthur A. Macdonell, *Lectures on Comparative Religion*, (University of Calcutta, 1925, reprint, Sanskrit Pustak Bhandar, Calcutta, 1990), pp. 59–60.
40. For a list of Sanskrit words whieh can be traced with a high degree of probability to Muṇḍa and Dravidian origin, see T. Burrow, *The Sanskrit Language*, [Faber & Faber, London, 1973 (1955)], pp. 38–85.
41. Ibid., p. 386.
42. Ibid., pp. 381–85.
43. Cf. K.C. Chattopadhyaya, op. cit., p. 210.
44. *Ṛgveda*, V, 29, 10. Cf. *VI*, pp. 356–58.
45. Cf. Gupta, op. cit., pp. 156–57. Compare with "The people whom we discern in the new dawn are not the pale skinned northerners—the 'yellow-haired Achaeans' and the rest—but essentially the dark-haired, brown-complexioned mee . . . of whom we find the earlier portraiture in the Minoan and Mycenaean wall-paintings." Sir Arthur Evans, "The Minoan and Mycenaean Element in Hellenic Life," *JHS*, XXXII, p. 278, quoted by Burnet, op. cit., p. 2, n. 1.
46. Cf. K. Kerényi, *Dionysos—Urbild des Unzerstörbaren Lebens*, [München—Wien, 1976, English translation from the German by Manheim Ralph, *Dionysos: Archetypal Image of Indestructible Life*, (Routledge & Kegal Paul, Princeton University Press, London, 1976)], p. 9; Webster, op. cit., p. 286.
47. Cf. Persson, op. cit., p. 5.
48. Cf. K. Satchidananda Murty, *Philosophy in India—Traditions, Teachings & Research*, (Indian Council of Philosophical Research in association with Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1985), p. 14; C. Kunhan Raja, "Pre-Vedic Elements in Indian Thought," *History of Philosophy Eastern & Western*, edited by S. Radhakrishnan, (George Allen & Unwin, London, first publ. 1952, third impression 1967), vol. I, pp. 31–39.

49. "Ζεὺς δ' ἔλαχ' οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἐν αἰθέρι καὶ νεφέλῃσιν," *Iliad*, XV, 192. See W.K.C. Guthrie, *The Greeks and their Gods*, (reprint, Beacon Press, Boston, 1954), p. 38; Burkert, op. cit., chap. II, 1.
50. Homer does not mention the story of the birth of Zeus, which was first accounted by Hesiod. (*Theogony*, 453–506, 617–720).
51. *Iliad*, I, 503, 533–6.
52. "ὦ Ζεῦ, πάτερ Ζεῦ, σὸν μὲν οὐρανοῦ κράτος,
σὺ δ' ἔργ' ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων ὁρᾷς
λεωργὰ καὶ θεμιστά, σοὶ δὲ θηρίων
ὕβρις τε καὶ δίκη μέλει."
Quoted in A.B. Cook, *Zeus—A Study in Ancient Religion*, (Cambridge Univ. Press, Cambridge, 1942), vol. III, pt. I, p. 949, n. 6. See also, Guthrie, *The Greeks and their Gods*, op. cit., p. 39.
53. *Iliad*, I, 533–5.
54. "καὶ ὅτι οὗτοι (οἱ θεοί) οἱ εὑρόντες καὶ δείξαντες τοὺς γάμους τοῖς ἀνθρώποις·
Ζεὺς γὰρ καὶ Ἥρα, πρῶτοι ζευγνύντες τε καὶ συνδυάζοντες
οὕτω τοι ὁ μὲν καὶ πατὴρ καλεῖται πάντων,
ἡ δὲ Ζυγία ἀπὸ τοῦ Ζευγνύναι τὸ θῆλυ τῷ ἄρρενι."
Dion. Hal., *ars. rhet.*, 2, 2. (Cook, op. cit., vol. III, pt. II, p. 1060, n. 7.)
55. "Ὗσον, ὗσον, ὦ φίλε Ζεῦ, κατὰ τῆς ἀρούρας τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν πεδίων." Marcus Aurelius, 5, 7.
56. "Zeus is ether, Zeus is earth, Zeus is sky, Zeus is everything and whatever exists beyond that," Aeschylos, *Heliades*, fr. 105; "Zeus was, Zeus is, Zeus will be, hail great Zeus," Pausanias, 10, 12, et seq. Cf. Burkert, op. cit., chap. II, 1, last page. Compare with the concept of Brahma in the Upaniṣads and the Supreme Person in the *Bhagavad Gītā*, IX.
57. *Ṛgveda*, IV, 1, 10.
58. Ibid., 1, 191, 6; VI, 51, 5.
59. Arthur A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, (Strassburg, 1891, reprint, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1974), p. 22.
60. The root connections of the terms used to designate the god of light in European languages might be classified into four or five main groups. The best known of them includes loan-words from the Greek 'Zeus'(nom. Ζεύς, voc. Ζεῦ, gen. Διός, dat. Διί, acc. Δία) whose name became known among various European races and was associated with the general idea of god, after the expansion of the Roman Empire. A few examples include: Lat. Jū-piter and nu-diūs tertius; Old Germ. Zio and Zīo; Rum. dumnezeu and Zeu; Japet. djêus (sky, bright day); Sp. Dios; Old Irish, in-diu (today = Lat. hodie). But the root of the Greek term 'theos' (θεός) meaning 'god' is much disputed and is still unclear. The Sanskrit terms designating god are 'devaḥ,' 'suraḥ,' 'Īśvaraḥ,' etc.; 'Dyaus' is only a name of a particular deity like the Greek 'Zeus.' The thematic root of the word 'deva' (√div = to shine) finds phonetic similarities with the Lithuanian, 'dievas'; Lett. 'dievs'; Old Prussian, 'diews'; Old Nor. 'Tyr'; and Arm. 'Tiv' (day). Another important group includes ChSl. 'bogū'; SCr. 'bog'; Boh. 'bu°h'; Pol. 'bóg'; and Russ. 'bog', which are probably early loan-words from Iran (Old Pers. 'baga'?; Avestan 'baγa'). As Carl Darling Buck [*A Dictionary of Selected Synonyms in the Principal Indo-European Languages*, (University of Chicago, Chicago, 1949), p. 1464], has suggested the terms were probably transmitted from Persia to Europe by the Scythians.
61. *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion—As Illustrated by the Religions of India*, (reprint, Indological Book House, Varanasi, 1964), p. 197.
62. "ὁ μὲν Ἐπίχαρμος τοὺς θεοὺς εἶναι λέγει, ἀνέμους, ὕδωρ, γῆν, ἥλιον, πῦρ, ἀστέρας,"

("Epicharmos said that the gods were the winds, water, earth, sun, fire and stars"). Stobaeus, *Floril.*, XCI, 29.

63. Plodicos explained that the ancients considered the sun and moon, rivers and springs and in general all that is useful to man, as gods. Hence, bread was worshipped as Demeter, wine as Dionysos, water as Poseidon, fire as Hephaistos. E. Zeller, *Philosophie der Griechen*, p. 926.
64. Max Müller, *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion*, p. 181.
65. II, 53.
66. Sextos Empeirikos, *Adversus Mathematicos*, IX, 193. (DK, Fr. 11).
67. *Lokāyata—A Study in Ancient Indian Materialism*, (reprint, People's Publishing House, New Delhi, 1968), p. 537.
68. For the horses there are many more names, due to the different traditions. See *Ελληνική Μυθολογία*, vol. II, p. 224. In spite of all differences, Max Müller, op. cit., p. 261), had recognised in the seven Indian 'Charits' the prototype of the Greek 'Charites'. But apart from the phonetic similarity there is hardly anything to compare. The Greek Charites in the older tradition are wives of great gods or attendants of Goddess Aphrodite. In later Greek tradition, there are only three, namely, Euphrosine, Thalcia, and Aglaia. They bestow happiness, favour, beauty, and victory.
69. *Orphic Cosmogony*, Fr. 12; Wind-egg, Aristophanes, *Birds*, 693 et seq.; Damascius, *De principiis*, 124, (DK, 3 B 5 from Eudemos); golden egg (Hiraṇyagarbha), *Ṛgveda*, X, 121; *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, III, 19, ff.
70. *Ṛgveda*, X, 90.
71. *The Works of Sir William Jones*, (reprint, Agam Prakashan, Delhi, 1977), vol. III, pp. 34–35. This statement was made during the third anniversary discourse, delivered on February 2, 1786.
72. See Bal Gangadhar Tilak, *The Arctic Home in the Vedas*, Tilak Bros., Poona, 1925.
73. See, for example, the refutations made by Bhimrao Ambedkar (*Writings and Speeches*, vol. VII, pp. 301ff.) and Aurobindo Ghosh (*The Secret of the Veda*, pp. 588ff.) on anthropological and linguistic grounds respectively.
74. An interesting but lesser known Indian work on the subject is Satya Ranjan Banerjce's treatise, *Indo-European Tense and Aspect in Greek and Sanskrit*, Sanskrit Book Depot, Calcutta, 1983. The author collects all the occurrences of the perfect forms in Homer and presents them in comparison with the Ṛgvedic perfect forms. From Banerjee's analysis of the verbal systems of Greek and Sanskrit, it is seen that in the primitive stage, three verbal stems—present, aorist and perfect—had originally three basic aspectual meanings. The deferred meanings can be seen (in the majority of cases) by taking the appropriate prefixes, infixes or suffixes. With regard to the Perfect system, Banerjee concludes that in some cases the perfect tense is used to refer to a past (completed) action in one of two ways: (1) it shows the completeness of an action in the past or (2) it shows the priority of the past action to another past action. But in the future perfect, the completeness of an action and its intensity are not always mutually exclusive. Another feature which is also found in both the Homeric and Ṛgvedic languages is the resultative perfect (i.e. past action extending to the present). This characteristic feature is also apparent in the indicative, infinitive and participle. In the majority of cases the perfect is used to indicate a present meaning and to express a present situation. In Homer as well as in the *Ṛgveda*, some perfect forms express a state. These are found in the indicative, pluperfect, infinitive and participle. In analysing the usage of Greek and Sanskrit verbs one needs to take into account both lexical meanings and aspectual potentialities.
75. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, vol. I, p. 326; and Lang, "Mythology," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, pp. 150–1, as quoted in Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 8.

76. Megasthenes, fr. 1, (Diodoros, II, 38) in *AIDMA*.
77. Arrian, *Indica*, 6, 5–9; Diodoros, II, 38.
78. Arrian, *Indica*, 7, 1.
79. Ibid., 8, 5. Cf. with "They [i.e. the Indians] further assert that Hercules also was born among them. They assign to him, like the Greeks, the club and the lion's skin." Diodoros, II, 39, 1.
80. Arrian, *Indica*, 8, 4–7.
81. Megasthenes, fr. I, (Diodoros, II, 39).
82. Arrian, *Indica*, 9, 9. According to Plutarch, Alexander was a descendant of Hercules by Caranos, who made himself master of Macedonia in the year 794 BC. Caranos was the sixteenth in descent from Hercules; and Alexander was the twenty-second in descent from Caranos; so that between Hercules and Alexander there were thirty-eight generations. See J. Langhorne and W. Langhorne, *Plutarch's Lives of Illustrious Men*, (Henry H. Bohn, London, 1855), vol. II, p. 712 n.
83. *Coll. rer. mem.*, 52, 5.
84. Cf. William Tarn, (*Alexander the Great*, II, pp. 55–62) stated that although Alexander worshipped many gods, Dionysos held a special place in his devotion. As a matter of fact he was regarded as his ancestor. Kern (*Griechische Religion*, III, p. 46) provided further evidence by mentioning the fact that when Alexander was adopted into the civil pantheon of Athens (324/323 BC), he was received as 'the second Dionysos.' Allan Dahlaquist, *Megasthenes and Indian Religions—A Study in Motives and Types*, (Almqvist & Wiksell, Uppsala, 1962), p. 30.
85. In the end of the fourth century BC and afterwards, the Greeks believed the Macedonians to be the descendants of Hercules. This can be detected in decorative motifs, the most popular of which is the "Hercules' knot," named after the legendary hero and ancestor of the Macedonians. Likewise, the Romans worshipped Alexander as a true son of Zeus Ammon and descendant of Hercules. Cf. *Alexander the Great: History and Legend in Art*, edited by Kate Ninou, (Ministry of Culture and Science, Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki, Thessaloniki, 1980), pp. 18, 19, and 23.
86. V, 1, 2.
87. According to Greek tradition, Lord Dionysos grew up on Mount Nysa where he was taken as a child by Hermes under the order of Zeus, who wanted to save the divine youth from the jealousy of his wife. He was looked after by the nymphs, or Maenads, and particularly by the nymph Nysa. In later times, many mountainous places, such as Boeotia, Parnassos, Thessaly, Macedonia, Thrace, Euboea, Naxos, Ethiopia, Caria, Lydia, Cilicia, Arabia, Scythia, and India claimed the glory of having brought up Dionysos. Cf. *Ελληνική Μυθολογία*, pp. 200–201.
88. "The Nysaioi however, are not an Indian race, but descendants of those who came into India with Dionysos—perhaps not only of those Greeks who had been disabled for service in the course of the wars which Dionysos waged against the Indians, but perhaps also of natives of the country whom Dionysos, with their own consent, had settled along with the Greeks." Arrian, *Indica*, 1.
89. XV, 1, 8.
90. Arrian, V, 3. See also, Strabo, I, 8–10.
91. "In Sophocles again a person appears singing the praises of Nysa as a mountain consecrated to Dionysos: 'Whence I beheld the renowned Nysa, the haunt of the Bacchanals, which the horned Iacchos has made his most beloved seat, where is heard the scream of no bird,' and so forth. The poet (Homer) speaks of Lycourgos the Edonian thus: 'Who formerly chased the nurses of the infuriated Dionysos along the holy mountain of Nysa.'" Strabo, XV, 1, 7. McCrindle (*AIDCL*, p. 12, n. 4) is of the view that the Nysa mentioned by the poets could not be the Indian Nysa because it did not

become known to the Greeks till Alexander's expedition, which was made more than a century after the poet's death. But as we have already seen from the statements of Ctesias, Herodotos, Hecataeos, and Aeschylos, Northwest India was known to the Greeks much before the campaign of Alexander.

92. *Vita Apollonii*, II, 8.
93. "ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΣ Ο ΣΕΜΕΛΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΟΣ ΑΠΟ ΙΝΔΩΝ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ ΔΕΛΦΟΙ," ibid., II, 9.
94. Ibid.
95. Kiṣkindhā Kāṇḍa, XLII, 40-48. Similar beliefs and notions describing Meru as a holy mountain of the Indians were reflected by the authors of the Purāṇas, Buddhists, and Varāhamihira. The location of Mount Meru in the later Indian literature, however, was shifted into the North Himalayas. See *Alberuni's India*, edited by Edward C. Sachau, (first new ed., London, 1910, reprint, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, New Delhi, 1992), vols. I, pp. 243f., 265, 308, 320, 327, 330; II, pp. 82, 96, 142.
96. *Bacchai*, 13–21. Translated by Gildert Murray, *The Complete Greek Drama*, edited by W.J. Oates and Eugene O' Neil, JR, (seventeenth printing, Random House, New York, 1938), vol. II, p. 221. Cf. "In the Bacchai of Euripides, for instance, Dionysos uses this bombast: and having left the lands abounding in gold of the Lydians and Phrygians and the sun-parched plains of the Persians and the Baetrian walls; and having come over the frozen land of the Medes and the happy Arabia and all Asia. . . ." Strabo, XV, 1, 7.
97. Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis*, III, 194.
98. *Nat. Hist.*, VI, 22 (24).
99. *Alberuni's India*, vol. 1, p. 97.
100. Rev. Reginald Heber, *Narrative of a Journey Through the Upper Provinces of India—From Calcutta to Bombay, 1824–1825*, (John Murray, London, 1828), vol. 1, p. 338.
101. Op. cit., p. 286.
102. Cf. *Ṛgveda*, VIII, 96, 13, where the Kṛṣṇas are said to have been defeated by Indra.
103. For a detailed comparison, see A. Danielou, *Shiva and Dionysos*, Inner Traditions International, New York, 1984.
104. Compare with the figure of the Sumerian hero Gilgames, the mythical king of the city of Uruk, whose features and deeds resemble those of Hercules. See Bedrich Hrozný, *Ancient History of Western Asia, India and Crete*, (translated from Czechoslovakian by Jindreich Prochazka, Philosophical Library, Prague, 1953), p. 56.
105. "yadostu yādavā jātāsturvasoryavanāḥ smṛtāḥ.
druhyoḥ sutāstu vai bhojā anostu mlecchajātayaḥ."
Ādi Parva, LXXXV, 34, (Gītā Press ed.). The Poona edition has 'sutāḥ' instead of 'smṛtāḥ.' The latter is given as an alternative reading. Cf. *Mahābhārata*, Ādi Parva, LXXX, 26, (Poona ed.), p. 364, n. 26.
106. "turvasoryavanāḥ sutāḥ," *Matsya Purāṇa*, XXXIV, 30. *Vide* ibid., L, 76.
107. Cf. Vettam Mani, *Purāṇic Encyclopaedia*, (first English ed., Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1975), pp. 901–02.
108. "pratīcyāṁ turvasuṁ cakra," *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, 19, XXII.
109. "tvamayo yadave turvaśāya," *Ṛgveda*, V, 31, 8.
110. *Ṛgveda*, VII, 18, 6.
111. *JAOS*, XV, 264. Quoted in *VI*, vol. 1, p. 315.
112. *VI*, vol. 1, p. 317.
113. "Through Agni we call hither from afar Turvaśa, Yadu and Ugradeva. May Agni, our strength against the Dasyu, conduct Navarastra, Brihadhathaand Turviti." *Ṛgveda*, I, 36, 18, translated by Hermann Oldenberg, SBE, vol. XLVI, p. 33.

114. For example, *Rgveda*, VIII, 7, 18. For other references, see *VI*, vol. I, p. 315.
115. See *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, 9, XXIII, 14–17; *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, 4, XVI.
116. See *infra*, "Who were the Yavanas?," chapter 3.
117. I, 29. Herodotos was probably based on popular ethical beliefs and not historical grounds as Solon's visit to Croesus presents chronological difficulties. Cf. Plutarch, *Parallel Lives*, chap. Solon, XXVII, 2; XXVIII, 1.
118. The *Old Testament* provides us with several references showing that Babylon was known to the Hebrew and Egyptian people as a developed commercial and cultural centre in the East. Therefore, the Greeks, who had trade contacts with their own colonies in the Middle East, could not have been unaware of Babylon. Cf. "The Babylonian talent contains seventy Euboic minae." Herodotos, III, 89; and "The sun-dial, however, and the gnomon, with the division of the day into twelve parts, were received by the Greeks from the Babylonians." Ibid., II, 109. Also, the Semitic derivation of the term βάρβαρος, found in Homer, may be seen from Babylonian 'barbaru' and Sumerian 'barbar.' The term occurs in Persian 'Barbar' and in Sk. 'Barbara' (Pāli 'babbhara') and bears the same meaning of the Sanskrit 'mleccha' (foreigner). In the *Mahābhārata* the name 'barbara' designates a country and race of foreign people.
119. The Bāveru kingdom, mentioned in *Bāveru Jātaka* (no. 339) has been identified as Babylon but this identification is probably inaccurate because neither Varanasi nor Babylon have direct access to the sea. In this Jātaka, Buddha narrates that some Indian merchants sailed from Bārāṇasī to Bāveru, where they brought the first crow and peacock in two successive journeys. The story was told as a parable to illustrate the fact that the Heretic Nāthaputta (who is identified as the crow) lost all his gain and glory after the birth of Buddha (identified as the peacock). Like all other Jātakas this story is based purely on imagination parables and is of a much later date. For the date and development of Jātakas, see *The Jātaka*, edited by E.B. Cowell, (reprint, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, New Delhi, 1990), vol. I, pp. vii–xii. It is most probable, however, that Babylon became known to Indian traders through the Persians, especially after the Macedonians' expansion. Cf. the description of the Babylonian chronicler Berossus (early third century BC), "At Babylon, there was a great resort of people of various races (πολὺ πλῆθος ἀνδρῶν ἀλλοεθνῶν), who inhabited Chaldea and lived in a lawless fashion." Quoted by Rawlinson, op. cit., p. 7.
120. The association of the term 'kassiteros' (κασσίτερος) already seen in Homer (*Iliad*, XI, 25; XVIII, 613; XXIII, 503, ff.) with the Sanskrit 'kastīra,' has been referred to as an indication of early trade contacts between Greece and India. But as it has been shown by Daremberg and Saglio, the word 'kastīra' found its way to India from Greece comparatively late. Cf. E.R. Bevan, "India in Early Greek and Latin Literature," *CHI*, vol. 1, p. 351. The etymological derivation of the Homeric word 'elephas' (ἐλέφας, *Iliad*, V, 583) from the Arabic 'el' and Sanskrit 'ibha' meaning 'elephant' is far-fetched though possible, as the Babylonians and other Asiatic races were using elephants and perhaps imported some of them, along with their name, from India. I. Stamatakos (*Λεξικόν Αρχαίας Ελληνικής Γλώσσης*, Εκδοτικός Οίκος Πέτρου Δημητράκου Α.Ε., Αθήναι, 1949), finds more likely the derivation of the term from Japet. 'el' (horn) and Egyp. 'āb,' 'ābu' (Coptic, 'ebok,' 'eby' = elephant), but it is also feasible that the term could have been imported to Greece from the Hebrew 'eleph.' Other words commonly shared by Greeks and Indians [e.g. rice (Gr. ὄρυζα, Tamil, 'arisi,' Arab, 'aruz'); fruit (Gr. κάρπιον first mentioned by Ctesias, Tamil, 'karpu'); ginger (Gr. ζιγγίβερις, Tamil, 'inchiver'); pepper (Gr. πιπέρι, Tamil and Sanskrit, 'pippalī'); beryl-stone (Gr. βήρυλλος, Tamil and Sanskrit, 'vaidūrya')] are limited in names of trade products which probably were exchanged indirectly between one nation and another at various dates, and directly after the establishment of trade contacts

between South India and Rome. Cf. Rawlinson, op. cit., p. 13.

121. See C.I. Pawate, *The Panchatantra and Aesop's Fables—A Study in Genre*, Amar Prakashan, Delhi, 1986; U.P. Arora, *Motifs in Indian Mythology—Their Greek & Other Parallels*, Indika Publishing House, New Delhi, 1981.
122. Cf. W.R. Halliday, *Indo-European Folk-Tales and Greek Legend*, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1933), pp. 46–48.
123. I, 13, 1–5.
124. Herodotos, III, 89–94. Ionia is the first, India the twentieth, Bactria the twelfth and Gandarida (Gandhāra) along with some other areas the seventh.
125. See, for example, "He (i.e. Ctesias) says that the Indians are not afflicted with headache, or ophthalmia, or toothache, nor have they mouthsores or ulcers in any part of their body. The age to which they live is 120, 130 and 150 years. The very old live to 200." Photios, LXXII, 47a, 11–14. [*FGrH*, no. 688, Fr. 45 (32).]
126. *Morb. Mul.*, I, 18; II, 158,185, 205 (indikon), and VII, 364 (Median pharmakon).
127. "Οἱ δὲ ὁρμηθέντες ἐκ Κασπατύρου τε πόλιος καὶ τῆς Πακτυϊκῆς γῆς, ἔπλεον κατὰ ποταμὸν πρὸς ἠῶ τε καὶ ἡλίου ἀνατολὰς ἐς θάλασσαν," ("They accordingly set out from the city of Caspatyros and the country of Pactyice, sailed down the river towards the east and the sunrise, to the sea"), Herodotos, IV, 44. Caspatyros is evidently the city called Caspapyros by Hecataeos, which resembles the Sanskrit name 'Kasyapapur.' Some scholars have identified Caspatyros with Kashmir ('Kaspeiria' in Ptolemy's *Geography*). On this supposition the river on which Scylax embarked would have been the Hydaspes or Jihlam. For additional views recording the location of Caspatyros, see *AIDCL*, p. 2, n. 2.
128. We get information about Scylax's book from the works of Herodotos, Aristotle, Athenaeos, Antiphon, Philostratos, Tzetzes and other later writers. The fragments have been selected by F. von Jacoby (*FGrH*, no. 709.) and Carolus Mullerus (*Geographica Graeci Minores*, Paris, 1855–61, 1, XXXIII–LI, 15–96). The book *Paraplous ton Ektos ton Heracleous Stelon* commonly attributed to Scylax is most likely a work of the grandson of Scylax of Karianda who had the same name and lived during the Peloponnesian War. As the title suggests, this book describes a successful navigation through the Strait of Gibraltar (known to the Greeks as Hercules' Pillars).
129. Aristotle, *Pol.*, 7, 13, I, p. 1332b 12; *FGrH*, no. 709, Fr. 5. It is remarkable to note that Buddha, who was a contemporary to Scylax, also noticed the existing difference of the social divisions of the two peoples. See *Majjhima Nikāya*, II, 149.
130. Information about the writings of Ctesias have been preserved in the works of Aristotle, Diodoros Siculus, Pliny, Arrian, Strabo, Aelian, Pausanias, Lucian, Antigonos, Stephanos Byzantios, Tzetzes, and other later writers. The fragments have been selected by F. von Jacoby (*FGrH*, no. 688), and J.W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as Described by Ktesias the Knidian*, reprint, Eastern Book House, Patna, 1987. For a critical study, see Klaus Karttunen, "The Indika of Ktesias and its Criticism," *GI*, pp. 74–85.
131. *Odyssey*, IX. Also mentioned by Aeschylos, *Prometheus Bound*, L, 804.
132. Strabo (VII, 3, 6) says that Aeschylos had spoken of the dog-headed people in one of his plays. He also says (XVI, 4, 14) that Herodotos and Artemidoros had mentioned Kynokephaloi as being inhabitants of inner Libya and remote Ethiopia respectively.
133. Longevity was also ascribed by later Greek writers also to the inhabitants of the country of Mousikanos, whose lives extended to 130 years (Strabo, XV, 1, 34); to the Seres, another eastern tribe, and to the people of Taprobane.
134. Megasthenes, frs. XXIX, XXX, XXXI, XXXIX. Compare with the names of some Indian tribes given by Alberuni (*Alberuni's India*, vol. I, p. 302): Śvamukha (people

with dog faces), Ekavilocana (people with one eye), Strīlājya (women among whom no man dwells longer than half a year), Nṛsiṁhavana (people with lion-faces), Khastha (people who are born from trees after hanging on them by the naval-strings), Carmaraṅga (people with coloured skins), Dīrghagrīva (people with long necks), Dīrghamukha (people with long faces), Capiṭanāsika (people with flat noses), etc.

135. Herodotos, III, 98. Tr. by George Rawlinson, *Herodotus: The Persian Wars*, The Modern Library, New York, 1942.
136. Herodotos, IV, 40.
137. Δημήτριος Βελισσαρόπουλος, *Έλληνες και Ινδοί*, (Εστία, Αθήνα, 1990), vol. 1, pp. 64–65.
138. *Suppliants*, 284–86, translated by E.D.A. Morsead, *The Complete Greek Drama*, vol. I, p. 16. The earliest reference to the Indian subcontinent as 'India' (εἰς Ἰνδίαν πλεῦσαι) is believed to have been made by Lucian (AD 120–80). (Cf. Velissaropoulos, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 65.) The Sanskrit and Hindi term that stands as an equivalent for 'India' is 'Bhārata deśa.' The term 'India' became commonly accepted by Indians after the spread of the English language in the country by the British colonialists.
139. "The tribes of Indians are numerous, and do not speak the same language—some are nomads, others not." Herodotos, III, 98. Compare with the description given by Hiuen Tsiang (AD 629): "It (India) was anciently called Shin-tu also Hien-tau; but now, according to the right pronunciation, it is called In-tu. The people of In-tu call their country by different names according to their district. Each country has diverse customs. Aiming at a general name which is best sounding, we will call the country In-tu. In Chinese this name signifies the moon," *Si-Yu-Ki*, Book II, I, translated from Chinese by Samuel Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, (reprint, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, New Delhi), p. 69.
140. Herodotos, III, 94.
141. Ibid., III, 94.
142. Ibid., III, 101.
143. Ibid., III, 98.
144. Ibid., III, 102.
145. Strabo, XV, I, 12.
146. III, 102–5.
147. References are from Michel Peissel's book, *The Ants' Gold* as quoted in "Mystery of 'Gold-Digging Ants' Seems Solved," *N.Y. Times News Service*, Nando. net, 24 November 1996. But Bevan (*CHI*, vol. I, p. 356), thinks the confusion might have been caused due to the name of the Indian tribe in Kashmir, 'Pipīlika' meaning 'ant gold.'
148. Fr. XXXIX.
149. Ibid.; Strabo, XV, 1, 44.
150. *Oration*, 35.
151. *Nat. Hist.*, XI, 31.
152. Herodotos, III, 101. This was repeated by Megasthenes (Strabo, XV, 1, 56) for the tribes living in Caucasos. Ctesias probably meant the same when he said, "They (i.e. Kynokephaloi) copulate with their women like quadrupeds, just in the manner of dogs. To copulate otherwise among them is thought disgraceful." Cf. Photios, LXXII, 48a-48b 3-4. [*FGrH*, no. 688, Fr. 45 (43).]
153. Herodotos, III, 38. (According to George Rawlinson.)
154. Ibid., III, 99.
155. Strabo, XV, I, 56.
156. v. 62.
157. *Nat. Hist.*, VI, 20, 55.

158. See *AIDCL*, p. 59, n. 1.
159. See H.W. Barrow, "On Aghoris and Aghorapanthis," *Journal of Anthropological Society of Bombay*, 1893, vol. III, pp. 197–251; W. Crooke, "Aghori" *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, edited by James Hastings, (T & T Clark, Edinburg, third impression, 1954–55), vol. I, pp. 210–13; M.S.G. Dyczkowski, *The Canon of the Śaivāgama and the Kubjika Tantras of the Western Kaula Tradition*, State University of New York, 1988; D.N. Lorenzen, *The Kapālikas and Kalamukhas: Two Lost Saivite Sects*, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1972; P.E. Svoboda, *Aghora: At the Left Hand of the God*, Brotherhood of Life, Albuquerque, 1986; Mircea Eliade, *Yoga: Immortality and Freedom*, Pantheon Books, New York, 1958; Dolf Hartsuiker, *Sādhus: India's Mystic Holy Men*, Inner Traditions International, Rochester, Vermont, 1993; Apostolos Michailides, "Aghoris the Worshippers of Lord Shiva" (in Greek), *Historia*, (Papyros Press, Athens, no. 304, Oct. 1993), pp. 64–69. For more refined views, see A. Singh, *Aghor Peetha and Baba Kina Ram*, Sri Sarveswari Samuh, Balrampur, 1988; and the works of Avadhuta Bhagavan Ram, published by the same institution.
160. Arora (*Greeks on India*, pp. 47–48) traces in this custom three different ideas: the desire to partake of the merits of the dead by eating him, the desire to give the ailing an honourable end, and an attempt to crush the spirit of decay before it becomes powerful. He also agrees with the views of E.T. Dalton (*Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 220) that Herodotos might have transferred the Sogdian (and Scythian) custom to Indian soil.
161. III, 100.
162. Photios, LXXII, 48b, 5–18. [*FGrH*, no. 688, fr. 45 (44).]
163. Photios, LXXII, 46a, 14–19. [*FGrH*, no. 688, fr. 45 (17).]
164. "āditya ha vai prāṇaḥ, rayir eva candramāḥ." *Praśna Upaniṣad*, I, 5. S. Radhakrishnan, [*The Principal Upaniṣads*, (London, 1953, reprint, Harper Collins, New Delhi, 1994), p. 652], finds that the duality of primary existences coincides with the matter and form of Aristotle.
165. *Therīghāthā*, 87; *Vinaya Pitaka*, I, 263; *Devadhamma Jātaka*, (no. 6).
166. Photios, LXXII, 46a, 13; 46b, 15–16; 47a, 1–3; 11–14 (pygmaioi); 48b, 4 (kynokephaloi). [*FGrH*, no. 688, fr. 45, (16, 23, 3o, 32, 42].
167. Xenophon, *Cyrou Paedia*, B, IV, 1–8.
168. Darius I (Dārayavahush, king of Persia *c.* 521–486 BC), in an attempt to expand his royal absolutism, invaded Greece but was defeated at Marathon in 490 BC. Ten years later his son and successor Xerxes I (Khshayārshā, king of Persia *c.* 486–465 BC) crossed Hellispondos with a vast army [Herodotos (VII, 186) estimates it to 5,283,220 men and seven to eight hundred ships] and captured Thrace, Macedonia, and Thessaly. At the narrow pass of Thermopylae he fought against the three hundred Lacedaemonians who were posted there under the leadership of the Spartan King Leonidas in order to delay his advance. After Thermopylae, Xerxes invaded Attika and on September 21, he captured and destroyed Athens. Meanwhile, the Athenians, following the oracle (chresmos) of Delphi, took refuge in the ships (wooden castles). On September 29, Xerxes initiated a naval battle at Salamis which led to the destruction of his fleet. Xerxes flew back to Persia but left behind his brother in law and general of his army, Mardonios. The following year on August 27, Mardonios fought against the Spartan General Pausanias who commanded the united Greek army at Plataiae. Mardonios was killed and his army was obliged to withdraw.
169. Herodotos, VII, 65.
170. Ibid., VII, 86.
171. Ibid., VII, 187.

172. Ibid., VIII, 113.
173. Ibid., IX, 31.
174. Most scholars explained that these cloths were made of cotton, but it seems more likely that they were made of plants or bark of trees. Herodotos (III, 98), said that the Indians who inhabited the marshes of the river wore a garment made of rushes, which they cut from the reeds; then chased and then plaited them into a mat which was worn like a corselet. Also, he said (III, 106) that in India certain wild trees bore wool instead of fruit, which exceeded that of sheep both in beauty and quality. The natives made their clothing from these trees. Compare with Photios, LXXII, 48a, 4-26. [*FGrH*, no. 688, Fr. 45 (41)] where Ctesias said that the Kynokephaloi were receiving from the Indians cloth made of wood (ξύλινα ἱμάτια). The production of dress material from plants, particularly HEMP, is popular even today in Nepal and other regions of the Himalayas.
175. *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, IV, 1, 49. See *infra*, "Who were the Yavanas?," chapter 3.
176. See S.K. Belvalkar, *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, (Bharatiya Vidya Prakashan, Delhi, 1976), pp. 12–15. Belvalkar uses several arguments to support his thesis that Pāṇini must have lived before Alexander's invasion. The most important of them states that Pāṇini has mentioned the town Sāṅkala (saṅkalā'dibhyaśca) (iv, 2, 75) [this city Alexander razed to the ground as a punishment for the stout resistance of its defenders (Vincent Smith, p. 75) and Pāṇini could not thereafter have spoken of it in the manner in which he did]. In the *sūtra* V, 3, 117, the Parsus or Persians and the Asuras or Assyrians are mentioned as an organisation of mercenary fighters. The Persians were blotted out as a political power in 329 BC and the Assyrians in 538 BC Pāṇini's references to these people belong, therefore, probably to a time anterior to these dates. But on the next page (p. 15), Belvalkar seems to rethink his previous statements when he says that Pāṇini may conceivably have mentioned the city of Saṅgala even after its destruction by Alexander and that the Persians and the Assyrians might have become mercenary soldiers after the loss of their independence. For a criticism of Belvalkar's views, see Maurice Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, (translated into English by Subhadra Jha, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1985), vol. III, pt. II, p. 461, n. 2.
177. The *Majjhima Nikāya*, along with the *Dīgha*, *Aṅguttara*, *Saṁyutta*, and *Khuddaka* Nikāyas, is classified in the first group of the *Pāli Canon* (*Tipiṭaka*) called *Sutta Piṭaka* (a collection of the teachings of Buddha). The *Pāli Canon* is generally considered to be the earliest available collection of Buddhist texts. The Sthaviravāda (Theravāda) Buddhists believe that it contains the original teachings of Buddha and that it was fixed during the first council which took place at Rājagṛha immediately after the death of Buddha. It was transmitted orally for many centuries until it was first reduced to writing in Āloka-vihāra in Ceylon, during the reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇī (29–17 BC). Cf. *DPPN*, p. 818. However, the *Pāli Canon* continued to develop and must have reached its completion during the first two centuries AD.
178. *Majjhima Nikāya*, II, 149. The translation is that of I.B. Horner, *Middle Length Saying*, (Pali Text Society, London, 1975), vol. II, p. 341. I have, however, translated the word 'raṭṭhaṃ' (Sk. rāṣṭraṁ) as 'country.' Compare with the thirteenth Rock Edict of Aśoka where the country of the Yonas is mentioned as the only place where the classes of the Brāhmaṇas and the Samaṇas do not exist. See *infra*, chapter 3.
179. For a more complete account of the controversial views about and arguments against the authenticity of *Pāli Canon*, see S.R. Goyal, *A History of Indian Buddhism*, (Kusumanjali Prakashan, Meerut, 1987), pp. 117–19. Most of the traditions agree on the authenticity of three or four Nikāyas, which implicitly contain the majority of the teachings of Buddha.

180. Kailash Chand Jain, *Lord Mahāvīra and His Times*, (Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1974), pp. 196–97.
181. Cf. "They [i.e. the Indians who formed the twentieth satrapy of the Persian Empire] paid a tribute proportionally larger than all the rest, 360 talents of gold dust." Herodotos, III, 94; and "There is much silver in India, and the silver mines though not deep are deeper than those in Bactria. The gold is also produced in India. It is not found in rivers and washed (from the sand) like the gold of the River Paktolos, but is found on those many high mountains," (Ctesias) Photios, LXXII, 46b, 25–30. [*FGrH*, no. 688, Fr. 45 (26).]
182. *Antigone*, 1036–37. Compare with Biblical references in the *Old Testament*, to the eastern kingdoms of Kabul and Ophir which were famous for their gold even at the time of King Solomon. Cf. *The First Book of Kings*, 9 (14, 28); *Daniel*, 10 (6); *Job*, 22 (24); 28 (16). Iosephus Flavious, [*Antiquitates Judaicae*, I, 6 (4)], has identified the Ophir of the *Old Testament* as an Indian region.
183. Xenophon, *Cyru Anabasis*, A, VII, 3; *Cyru Paideia*, H, VIII, 26.
184. See R.J. Seager and C.J. Tuplin, "The Freedom of the Greeks of Asia," *JHS*, vol. C (1980), p. 148.
185. Strabo, XI, 11, 4; XVII, 1, 43; Plutarch, *Moralia*, 557B.
186. Herodotos, VI, 9.
187. George McDonald, "Ancient Greek Coins in India," *CHI*, vol. 1, pp. 346–48.
188. Osmund Bopearachchi and Aman-ur-Rahman, *Pre-Kushana Coins in Pakistan*, (Iftikhar Rasul, IRM Associates, Karachi, 1995), pp. 9, 25.
189. V.C. Srivastava, "Hellenism in Afghanistan: Problems and Perspectives," *GI*, p. 156.

CHAPTER 2

The Post-Alexandrian Age

ALEXANDER AND THE INDIAN GYMNOSOPHISTS

A new era in the relations of the Indian and Greek peoples began in 327 BC with the campaign of King Alexander III of Macedonia (commonly known as Alexander the Great) in India. The exploits of Alexander and his world-wide conquests have been well documented by historians all over the world. However, it is less known that Alexander, apart from being a great warrior, was also very interested in philosophy. Along with his vast army, Alexander brought with him a few philosophers, namely Kallisthenes (the nephew of Aristotle), Anaxarchos, Onesicritos (the disciple of Diogenes), and perhaps the Cynic Sicritos and the Sceptic Pyrrho. Several other scholars and writers joined the king's entourage and reported their experiences to the western world. The 'official tradition' of Alexander's campaign was recorded in the *Ephemerides* by Eumenes of Cardia, the secretary of Alexander, and his assistant Diodotos of Erythrae. Other records were kept by Diogenetos and Baeton, the measurers of Alexander's marches; Nearchos of Crete, the admiral of Alexander's fleet; Onesicritos, the pilot of the fleet; Aristoboulos of Potidaea; Ptolemaios, the son of Lagos, who became the king of Egypt; Chares of Mitilini; Kallisthenes; Kleitarchos, son of Deinon of Rhodes; Polykleitos of Larissa; Anaximenes of Lampsakos; Kyrsilos of Pharsalos; Patrokles and others.

All the above mentioned original records were lost especially in the destruction of the great Hellenistic libraries in Alexandria and Antioch. A few fragments, however, have been preserved in the *Geographia* of Strabo of Amasis in Pontos (*c*. 54 BC–AD 24), in the *Historia Naturālis* of Plinius (Pliny) Secundus of Rome (AD 23–79), in the *Anabasis* and *Indica* of Arrian of Bithynia (*c*. AD 95–175), in the *Parallel Lives* of Plutarch of Chaeronia (*c*. AD 46–126), and in the works of other later writers.[1]

Though Alexander's stay in India was only brief, his adventures and his meetings with Indian sages and Amazons became, over the centuries, a popular subject in the epics of the western world.[2] The tradition surrounding his figure was codified in a popular mythico-historical saga known as *Bios Alexandrou tou Makedonos kai Praxes*, attributed to Kallisthenes, a

distant nephew and pupil of Aristotle, who had accompanied Alexander on his campaign. However, this work was written by an anonymous Alexandrian (now known as pseudo-Kallisthenes) who probably lived sometime between the first and the third centuries AD.

The third book of pseudo-Kallisthenes sketches the meeting of the Macedonian king with the Oxydracae (or Sudracae) Brāhmaṇas and the gymnosophists (naked sophists). Further it describes the prophecy of his own death which he received during his visit to the Sun and Moon sanctuaries. Also included in this book are the story in which Aristotle asked Alexander, who was on the point of departure for Asia, to bring him an Indian gymnosophist, plus a long letter sent by Alexander to his teacher Aristotle which describes various marvels in India.

Pseudo-Kallisthenes' book was translated into Latin by Julius Valerius at the beginning of the fourth century AD and both versions were modified, reproduced, and translated many times by later European and Oriental writers. In these stories, Alexander is variously portrayed as a Persian hero, as the shah of the Chedives dynasty that ruled Persia during the sixteenth century, and as a pilgrim to Mecca. He is also depicted as an Indian or an Afghani, seated at the side of the Buddha. He visits the Prophet Chidr and the holy places of India and enters into discussion with the Indian gymnosophists. He even becomes an Ethiopian or an Egyptian, son of Zeus Ammon, or a warrior fighting with the Chinese heroes against monstrous beasts and is depicted discoursing with the sages of China beneath the tree of wisdom. Alexander even finds his way into the *Old Testament* where he is said to have visited Jerusalem and was welcomed by Jeremiah himself. Anachronisms frequently occur and finally, he is converted to Christianity. In the west he is transformed into a Frank, a Goth, a Russian, a Saxon, and a Serb hero king.[3]

However, Alexander's adventures left no impressions on the Indian mind and his name is not found in the Indian literature.[4] The indifference of the Indian ascetics to Alexander's power has been clearly illustrated by Arrian in the following dialogue, which is attributed to the Macedonian king and the Indian gymnosophists.

> At the sight of him and his army they did nothing else but stamp with their feet on the earth, upon which they were stepping. When he asked them through interpreters about the meaning of their action, they replied, 'O King Alexander, each man possesses as much of the earth as this upon which we have stepped, but you being only a man like the rest of us, except in being meddlesome and relentless, are roaming over so great part of the earth far from your own land troubled both yourself and others. And yet you also will soon die, and possess only as much of the earth as is sufficient for thy body to be buried in.[5]

Plutarch recorded a legendary interview held by Alexander with ten cap-

tured ascetics. According to this story Alexander, in the course of his expedition, captured ten of the Gymnosophists, who were principally concerned with instigating Sabbas to revolt and had brought countless other troubles upon the Macedonians. As these ten were reckoned to be the most astute and concise in their answers, he posed to them the most difficult questions conceivable, while simultaneously declaring that he would put to death the first person who answered incorrectly, and would then kill all the rest. The oldest man among them was to be the judge. He demanded of the first, "Which were most numerous, the living or the dead?" He answered, "The living; for the dead no longer exist." [This is probably an indication that they were either materialists or advocates of the immediate transmigration of the soul after death.] The second was asked, "Did the earth or the sea produced the largest animal?" He answered, "The earth; for the sea is part of it." The third, "Which was the craftiest of all animals?" "That," said he, "with which man is not yet acquainted." The fourth, "What is your reason for persuading the Sabbas to revolt?" "Because," said he, "I wished them either to live with honour or to die as a coward deserves." The fifth was questioned, "which do you think is oldest, day or night?" He answered, "The day by one day." As the king appeared surprised at this solution, the philosopher told him, "Abstruse questions must have abstruse answers." Then addressing himself to the sixth, he said, "What are the best means for a man to make himself loved?" He answered, "If possessed of great power, do not make yourself feared." The seventh was asked, "How might a man become a god?" He answered, "by doing what is impossible for man to do." The eight, "Which is strongest, life or death?" "Life," said he, "because it bears so many evils." The last question that he put was, "How long is it good for man to live?" "As long," said the philosopher, "as he does not prefer death to life." Then turning to the judge he ordered him to give sentence. The old man said, "In my opinion each has all answered worse than the one before." "If this is your judgement," said Alexander, "you will die first." "No," replied the philosopher, "not unless you choose to break your word; for you had declared that the man who answered worst should first suffer." The king then loaded them with presents and left them free.[6]

The meeting between Alexander and the ascetics of India have provided the perfect canvas on which are illustrated the differences in each culture's basic view of life. In this first meeting of East and West, the king of kings, representing power and wealth, is contrasted with the naked ascetics, who have renounced all worldly values. This contrast became the source of inspiration for the Hellenistic writers to express their philosophical ideas about religion, renunciation, death and life.

Megasthenes and Arrian wrote that Alexander sent a messenger to Dandamis (Mandanis according to Strabo), the oldest and most renowned

of the naked sophists, to ask him to follow the 'son of Zeus.' The Indian sage refused and also prevented the others in his community from going. It is said that he sent a reply saying that he was as much the son of Zeus as Alexander was and that he wanted nothing from him for he was content with what he had.

> Know this, however, that what Alexander offers me, and the gifts he promises are all things to me utterly useless; but the things which I prize, and find of real use and worth, are these leaves which are my house, these blooming plants which supply me with dainty food, and the water which is my drink.[7]

Strabo recorded that Mandanis said to Onesicritos, "I commend the king, because although he governs so vast an empire, he is yet desirous of acquiring wisdom, for he is the only philosopher in arms (ἐν ὅπλοις φιλοσοφοῦντα) that I saw." But, "Others say Dandamis entered into no discourse with the messengers, but only asked 'Why had Alexander taken so long a journey?' "[8]

This was not the case with Calanos,[9] an ascetic who was living in the community of Dandamis and agreed to follow Alexander on his weary way back to Babylon. He finally burnt himself alive on a pyre set out in front of the Macedonian army.

> Calanos, after having been disordered a little while with the bile, desired to have his funeral pile erected. He approached it on horseback, offered up his prayers to heaven, poured the libations upon himself, cut off part of his hair, and threw it on the fire; and before he ascended the pile, took leave of the Macedonians, desiring them to spend the day in joy and drinking with the king, "For I shall see him," said he, "in a little time at Babylon." [The prophesy was materialised as Alexander died a few months later when he entered Babylon.] So saying he stretched himself upon the pile and covered himself. Nor did he move at the approach of the flame, but remained in the same posture till he had finished his sacrifice, according to the custom of his country.[10]

Both Indians and Greeks praised Dandamis as having conquered the interests of the welfare of his body but the Indians, unlike Greeks, blamed Calanos as one who had impiously apostatised from his philosophy and served another lord instead of God.[11] There are plenty of such cynical and romantic narrations, which inspired the later Greek minds to express their own ideals. Megasthenes attributed to Dandamis the following statements:

> I go wherever I please and there are no cares with which I am forced to cumber myself, against my will. Should Alexander cut off my head, he cannot also destroy my soul. My head alone, now silent, will remain, but the soul will go away to its Master, leaving the body like a torn garment upon the earth, whence also it was taken. I, then becoming spirit, shall ascend to my God, who enclosed us in flesh, and left us upon the earth to prove whether here below we shall live obedient to His ordinances.[12]

The naked ascetic and the conqueror of the world were equally seen as sons of God, but Alexander could not have become a god himself for his vast power was no more than a shadow compared to the almighty and infinite compassion of the Lord.

> God the Supreme king is never the author of insolent wrong, but is the creator of light of peace, of life, of water, of the body of man, and souls, and these he receives when death sets them free, being in no way subject to evil desire. He alone is the God of my bondage, who abhors slaughter and instigates no wars. But Alexander is not God, since he must taste of death. . . . Moreover, Alexander has neither as yet entered living into Hades (kingdom of death).[13]
>
> 'The greatest God,' he (i.e., Dandamis) said, 'can do injury to no one, but restores again the light of life to those who have departed. Accordingly, he alone is my lord who forbids murder and excites no wars. But Alexander is no God, for he himself will have to die. How then, can he be the lord of all, who has not yet crossed the river Tyberoboas, nor has made the whole world his abode . . . nor crossed the zone of Cades (Hades), nor has beheld the course of the sun in the centre of the world?'[14]

The earliest attested encounter and conversation between Indian and Greek philosophers took place between Onesicritos and Dandamis.[15] Dandamis explained to Onesicritos that the best philosophy is that which liberates the mind from pleasure and grief. He furthermore expressed the desire to know if such doctrines were taught by the Greeks. Onesicritos replied that Pythagoras taught a similar doctrine and instructed his disciples to abstain from eating meat. Also, he said that Socrates and Diogenes of Synope, to whose discourses he had listened, held similar views. Dandamis expressed his appreciation of them but pointed out that in other respects they were mistaken by preferring social conventions (νόμος) to natural life (φύσις);[16] for otherwise, they would not have been ashamed to go around naked as he did. He also condemned them for busying themselves with enquiries about natural phenomena, predicting rains and diseases, and for wandering in the market and other unsuitable places.

Aristoboulos, however, had noticed two Brāhmaṇas at Taxila, lingering in the market-place in a manner quite similar to the Greek sophists. They were acting as public counsellors and received great homage from the people. They had the privilege of taking whatever they wanted from what was offered for sale in the market; their food cost them nothing. The elder had a shaved head, but the other did not. Both of them were followed by their disciples.[17] The fact that certain respected Samaṇas and Brāhmaṇas also acted as fortune-tellers by reading physical characteristics of men and by interpreting dreams and other omens is known by the evidence of the *Dīgha Nikāya*.[18] The Buddha, however, explicitly states that a bhikkhu (mendicant monk) abstains from making a wrongful living by such means.

Not much was yet known by the Greeks about the depth of Indian philosophies during these early encounters. Onesicritos pointed out the difficulties of communication by saying that several interpreters were needed and that a clear understanding of Indian ideas was often impossible. Mandanis said to Onesicritos, "It is impossible to explain philosophical doctrines through the medium of three interpreters who understand nothing we say any more than the vulgar; it is like asking water to flow pure through mud."[19]

There is no doubt, however, that the Greeks were impressed by the Indians' power to endure pain and by their particular way of life. Strabo recorded Indian practices, such as standing on one leg and holding a beam of wood and lying on the ground while enduring the sun and the rains.[20] Similar descriptions are given by Pliny,[21] Arrian,[22] and other later scholars. It seems that the ideals of the gymnosophists concerning immunity to pleasure and pain and disregard of intellectual philosophy had reached Greece and were welcomed by Sceptic and Cynic philosophers who shared similar aspirations.

The naked saints with whom the first Greeks met have often been described as Jain Digambaras. But this understanding is erroneous. The Indian gymnosophists had supported violence by persuading the Sabbas to revolt and by encouraging the free states to resist against Alexander.[23] This fact as well as the gymnosophists' own peculiar belief in god, points to the conclusion that they cannot be identified with the non-violent and atheist Jains. It is more likely that the naked ascetics formed a part of an early sect of Hindu Nāgas.[24] They did not exhibit any special interest in intellectual learning and their discipline was centred in soteriological practices. They believed that they could reach a transcendental stage of consciousness and free themselves from the cycle of death and rebirth and the bonds of the experiences of the opposites, such as pleasure and pain, heat and cold, etc.

Another important image the Greeks seem to have had of Indian ascetics was that Indians were totally devoted to metaphysical speculations and had very little interest in social and humanistic problems. This is further seen in a story attributed to Aristoxenos, a companion of Alexander, according to which an Indian visited Socrates and debated with him about the meaning of philosophy. When the Athenian philosopher answered that his philosophy was concerned with human beings, the Indian laughed and wondered how one could know humans if one did not know God. The story was probably a creation of the Macedonians to show the basic difference between Greek and Indian philosophical orientations, the former giving preference to the solution of human problems and the latter to the realisation of the divine.[25]

Philostratos in the *Life of Apollonios of Tyana* presents a different view

according to which the Indians had recognised self-knowledge as a necessary precondition for the knowledge of the all. "We know everything, because we first know ourselves. None can attain this philosophy if he does not know first himself."[26]

After the death of Alexander, the Greeks established kingdoms in ss and in Northwest India, where they remained for more than three centuries. Although Indo-Greeks were foreign to India, they seem to have been in the background of several important events in ancient Indian history. The interaction they had with Indians was often in the context of war but the ethnocentric tendency to isolate and underestimate them was not always present. There were times when ethnic tribes, under threat of extinction, had to assert their identity by proclaiming the uniqueness of their ideology and the superiority of their race. There were also times when friendly relations and alliances developed and people took the opportunity to increase their standard of living by exchanging wisdom and inventions.

Leaving out battles and enmities, this was, undoubtedly the most rich and vital period in the inter-cultural relations of the two peoples. Classical and Hellenistic Greek writers described India as a country of marvels and ideal landscapes and also as the land where foreigners were well cared for, where truth and virtue were honoured,[27] and where the people were honest, just, long-lived, truth-loving and peaceful.[28] Contacts took place in various fields, such as medicine, science, art, literature, astronomy and philosophy.[29]

How much religious interaction was there, and to what extent did the Greeks and Indians influence each other? In early stages, Greeks and Indians were not interested in conversion and retained their polytheistic religions. Buddhism was a small sect, divided into many sub-sects, which could hardly have played a significant role in the spread of Indian belief to non-Indians. As the relationship became strengthened, however, a mutual interest in learning each others' religious beliefs developed.

MEGASTHENES AND INDIAN RELIGIONS

Megasthenes showed an intense interest in describing the disciplines and ideas of Indian ascetics, whom he called philosophers (φιλόσοφοι or σοφισταί), but not gymnosophists. He distinguished between the followers of Dionysos, who lived in the mountains, and of the followers of Hercules, who lived on the plains. The philosophers who lived in the mountains, showed that Dionysos had come among them, using as proof the wild vine, which grows in their country only, and the ivy, and the laurel, and the myrtle, and the box tree, and other evergreens. None of those were found beyond the Euphrates, except rarely in parks, were they required great care to preserve. Also, they observed certain customs which were Bacchana-

lian. They dressed in muslin, wore the turban, used perfumes, and adorned themselves in garments dyed in bright colours. Their kings, when they appeared in public were preceded by the music of drums and gongs.[30]

Megasthenes also divided the Indian ascetics into two groups: 'Brahmanae' and 'Sarmanae.'[31] He considered the Brāhmaṇas as superior because they had more consistent opinions. He perceives them as being nurtured by wise men right from the time of their conception. Learned men were visiting the newly pregnant mother under the pretence of giving incantations for her welfare and her unborn child, but actually were giving her prudent suggestions and advice for the child's welfare. The women who listened most willingly were thought to have had the most fortunate children. After birth, the child was cared for by a series of masters each succeeding one being more accomplished than his predecessor. They dwelled in a grove outside the city inside a moderate sized enclosure[32] and lived a life of strict discipline until the age of thirty-seven. They abstained from sexual intercourse and eating meat. They devoted their time to listening to serious discourses and sharing their knowledge with those willing to listen. The hearer was not allowed to speak or even cough and much less to spit. If he offended in any of these ways he was on that day cast out of their society for being a man who lacked self-control. After the age of thirty-seven, however, they were free to do as they pleased and to enjoy all pleasures. They could eat flesh, except that of animals employed in labour. They could marry as many wives as they chose, with a view to having numerous children. As they had no slaves, there was a greater need to have children around to attend to their wants.

The Brāhmanas did not discuss philosophy with their wives lest they should divulge any of the forbidden mysteries of the profane or lest they should desert them if they became good philosophers; for no one who despised pleasure and pain, as well as life and death, wished to be subjected to another. This was a characteristic of both a good man and a good woman. Death was frequently discussed by them. They regarded this life as a process similar to that by which the child within the womb becomes mature, and death as the birth into a real and happy life for votaries of philosophy. For this reason they practised much discipline in preparation for death. Life was seen as a dream-like illusion. They considered nothing that happened to a man as either good or bad, demonstrated by the fact that some are affected by sorrow and others by joy in response to one and the same event or cause. They did not erect monuments to the dead but considered the songs which praised their virtuous life, as such. God was seen as the creator of the world and as pervading all things.

Their ideas about physical phenomena, Megasthenes tells us, were very crude, for the Indians were better in their actions than in their reasoning.

He also added that their belief was largely based on fable. He compared their ideas and their method of investigation with those of the Greeks, thus:

> On many points their opinions coincide with those of the Greeks for like them they say that the world was created and is liable to destruction, and is in shape spherical and that the Deity who made it and who governs it, is diffused through all its parts. They hold that various first principles operate in the universe, and that water was the principle employed in the making of the world. In addition to the four elements there is a fifth agency, from which the heaven and the stars were produced.[33] The earth is placed in the centre of the universe. Concerning generation, and the nature of the soul, and many other subjects, they express views like those maintained by the Greeks. They wrap up their doctrines about immortality and future judgement in Hades in allegories in the manner of Plato.[34]
>
> All that has been said regarding nature by the ancients is asserted also by philosophers outside of Greece, on the one hand in India by Brachmanes and on the other in Syria by the people called the Jews.[35]

Megasthenes noticed that the Sarmanae were subdivided into several sects. The most notable of them were the Hylobioi (ὑλόβιοι)[36] who were held in great honour and were consulted by kings through messengers. They lived on leaves and wild fruits and abstained from any sort of cooked food; they wore clothes made from the bark of trees, and abstained from sexual intercourse. They considered the body as a covering for the soul. They maintained, moreover, that the body was like a prison of the soul and they fought against it like soldiers in battle against the enemy. Their own innate enemies were the sensual appetites, gluttony, anger, joy, grief, longing, desire, and so on. They believed that only the man who had triumphed over these enemies could go to God. God was looked upon as light and logos. They held that God was corporeal and that He wore a body as an external covering, just as one wears a woollen overcoat. When divested of this body He becomes visible to the eye, but He could be seen only by them, because only they had discarded vanity (κενοδοξία). They disregarded death and always pronounced the name of the deity with a unique tone of reverence and adored him with hymns. Those who entered into their society never returned home.

Next to the Hylobioi were the physicians who lived a simple life and studied the nature of man. Their diet consisted of rice and barley provided by their devotees. They were experts in medicine and natural therapy based on a balanced diet; they could make marriages fruitful and determine the gender of offspring. Like the Hylobioi they undertook penances, such as standing completely still in a fixed place all day, etc.

A third sect of Sarmanae consisted of adepts in rites and customs concerning the dead. They went around begging in villages and towns. Women could pursue philosophy with some of them but they had to abstain from sexual intercourse.[37]

Megasthenes described seven castes of India in a manner very similar to that of Herodotos in Egypt.[38] The seven castes mentioned by Megasthenes were: philosophers (φιλόσοφοι Strabo, Diodoros; σοφισταὶ Arrian); husbandmen (γεωργοὶ); neatherds and shepherds (βούκολοι καὶ ποιμένες καὶ καθόλου πάντες οἱ νομέες Diodoros; ποιμένες και θηρευταὶ Strabo; οἱ νομέες, οἱ ποιμένες τε καὶ βουκόλοι Arrian); artisans (τεχνίται); military (πολεμισταὶ); overseers (ἔφοροι Strabo, Diodoros; ἐπίσκοποι Arrian); and councillors and assessors (σύνεδροι τοῦ βασιλέως and τῶν κοινῶν βουλευόμενοι καὶ σύμβολοι).

Although the philosophers were the smallest group their great dignity made them superior to the others. They were exempted from all public duties and were neither masters or servants. They were dedicated to the learning and performance of sacrificial rituals and were regarded as most dear to the gods and most conversant in matters pertaining to s. They met annually at the beginning of each year before the king and served the public by forewarning about weather, disease and other topics. The philosophers who made correct observations were exempt from taxes and requests for contributions while those who erred in their predictions thrice were condemned to silence for the rest of their lives.[39]

Inter-marriage between the castes was prohibited as was the switching from ones birthright caste into any other. An artisan, for instance, could not marry into a family of husbandman or vice versa, neither was one man allowed to practice two crafts or change from one class to another. Only a sophist could be drawn from any class; since this way of life was the most difficult.[40] Arrian[41] called the seven Indian classes 'genea' (γένεα, races). We do not know what Megasthenes really wrote. B. Breloer[42] suggested that Megasthenes had designated them as 'mere' (μέρη, parts).

Megasthenes seems not to have been aware of the traditional fourfold division (viz. Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras) of the Hindu society.[43] However, the possibility that he might have reached his sevenfold division through an actual observation of Indian society cannot be dismissed because apart from the scriptural division into four castes (varṇas), there have always been a large number of castes and subcastes in India. Mahāvīra's[44] classification of living beings in six colours (leśyās) probably goes back to the teachings of Pārśva who spoke of six kinds of bodies (Jīvanikāyas).[45] Makkhali Gosāla, a contemporary to the Buddha and Mahāvīra, had also noticed the existence of six special castes (abhijātis).[46] The Arab travellers Ibn Khurdabda (d. AD 912) and Al Idrisi (twelfth century AD) also described seven castes in India but they placed the caste of the kings (Sabkufria or Sakria) in the first place and the Brāhmaṇas in the second position.[47] Alberuni mentioned four castes and placed the Brāhmaṇas on the top. Hiuen Tsiang (seventh century AD) also gave a fourfold classifi-

cation: (1) Brāhmaṇas (Po-lo-men), men of pure conduct, (2) Kṣatriyas (T'sa-ti-li), the royal caste, (3) Vaiśyas (fi-she-li), merchant class, and (4) Śūdras (Shu-t'o-lo).[48]

On moral grounds, Megasthenes admired the Indians for being free from the universally accepted custom of slavery.[49] Megasthenes also said that in the camp of Sandrakottos, wherein lay four hundred thousand men, the thefts reported on any day never exceeded an amount of two hundred drachmae. This was amongst people who had no written laws,[50] as they were illiterate, and so conducted all matters from memory. A death penalty was administered to those who harmed others.[51] Committing suicide was considered an act of foolishness and self-destruction was not a dogma of the philosophers.[52] The Indians drank wine (he could be referring to the intoxicant Soma) only at sacrificial times. They married many wives, by giving as dowry to their parents a yoke of oxen. Women were sexually free and some were armed and accompanied the king on his hunts.[53] They could also study philosophy and become ascetics.[54]

Strabo[55] mentioned the peculiar custom of an Indian tribe known as Kathaians, who used to burn widows with their deceased husbands. It seems that this practice was not widely spread at the time, for Strabo expressed doubt as to whether this law actually existed or not. But he also said that according to Aristoboulos and other writers the Indian widows were happy to burn themselves with their dead husbands and that those who refused were held in disgrace.[56] The reason given for this practice was to prevent wives from deserting or poisoning their husbands after falling in love with another man.[57]

Diodoros[58] recorded the dramatic story of the two wives of Kêteus, an Indian military leader who went to fight under Eumenes against Antigonos and was killed in the great battle in Gabiene. The two widows vied with each other to become satī (a devoted wife). The elder, being with child, was precluded by law from immolating herself, so the younger one proceeded to the pyre and lay down beside her husband. As the fire seized her, no sound of weeping escaped her lips.[59]

Among other strange customs of the Kathaians, Strabo[60] mentioned, on the authority of Onesicritos, that the most handsome man of their society was chosen as king. He said that two months after its birth a child was subjected to examination by public authorities to determine whether it had the beauty of form prescribed by law and whether it deserved to live or not. Perhaps they were determining the health of children, and if they were deemed handicapped they were put to death. This compares with the laws of the ancient Lacedaemonians who threw all deceased children from Mount Taigetos.

THE GREEKS IN THE MAURYAN EMPIRE

Aśoka grew up in an environment which had close contact with the Greeks. George Woodcock[61] goes as far as to imagine a possible descent of Aśoka from Greek blood, because his grandfather Candragupta[62] was given the Greek princess, Helen, for marriage (ἐπιγαμία) by Seleucos Nicator. But this possibility is reduced as the Indian kings are known to have practised polygamy. Woodcock states:

> The treaty between the two kings was settled with a marriage agreement by which a daughter of Seleucos entered the house of Candragupta. Since she hardly had become the wife of any lesser person than the Indian emperor himself or his son and heir Bindusara, the fascinating possibility arises that Ashoka, the greatest of the Mauryan emperors, may in fact, have been half or at least a quarter Greek.

Both Candragupta and his son and successor, Bindusāra, had Greek ambassadors in their courts. Megasthenes to Candragupta; Deimachos from Antiochos I, the successor of King Seleucos of Syria, to Bindusāra (Allitrochates son of Sandrokottos and king of Palibothra).[63] Dionysios from Ptolemaios Philadelphos II of Egypt was sent as ambassador to an unnamed Indian king who might have been either Bindusāra or Aśoka.[64] The ambassadors Deimachos and Dionysios are known to have contributed to the West's knowledge of Indian life. The first wrote a work on India which consisted of at least two books. He might have written in a similar manner to Ctesias, as Strabo singles him out as the most mendacious of all the writers on India. The second provided some information concerning the power and resources of the Indian nations. Unfortunately, none of their documents have survived. It is also not known whether the Indians had, in turn, sent ambassadors to the Greek kings.

In the course of historical development several Greeks became subjects of the expanded Mauryan Empire, particularly after the signing of the peace treaty between Seleucos and Candragupta. The presence of foreigners in India was noticed by Megasthenes who tells us of the existence of a separate department in Candragupta's government, which looked after foreigners.[65] Greek mercenaries might also have been employed by Indian kings during this era, as is suggested by Indian references to the Yavana armies participating in the Indian civil wars. It is also likely that Greek artists, medicine-men, astrologers, and traders established themselves in major Indian commercial centres.[66]

The impress of Greek influence on Indian art becomes evident only later in the Graeco-Buddhist sculptures of Gandhāra and Mathura, but there is nothing to mitigate against the supposition that Greek artists could have been employed in India from a much earlier date. The certainty that Greek

art was well-known to Indians is attested by the fact that Greek (Yonaka) statues holding lamps were used as decoration by the Sākyas in Kapilavatthu (Sk. Kapilavastu), the home town of Gautama Buddha.[67] Moreover, stone sculpture, little used in India before the time of Aśoka might be attributed to the Greeks. The extremely clear and detailed stone carving of the four lions on the Aśoka pillar at Sārnāth finds no comparison in the otherwise abstract and misty figures of the earliest Indian stone monuments. Although the iconographic marks and symbols belong to the Indian tradition we can not fail to recognise that in many aspects the Indian lions resemble the lions erected by the Macedonians in Chaeronia and Amphipolis as victory monuments. It would, therefore, not be unreasonable to postulate that the pillar which was destined to become the national symbol of India was quite likely made by the skilful hands of employed Greek artists.

The close association of the Indo-Greeks (Yonas) with the Mauryan Indians is further testified in the rock inscriptions (Rock Edicts) of Aśoka. A bilingual inscription in Greek and Aramaic brought to light in 1958 during some excavations in Kandhahar (Afghanistan)[68] suggests that the Greeks who settled there had good knowledge of Aśoka's dharmic (ethical and religious) instructions. The discovered Rock Edict has been ascribed to Aśoka who is called in the inscription 'Piodasses' (friendly looking). It demonstrates his sovereign capacity as a ruler of all things of the earth, his convention that no men shall harm living beings, and the instruction that his subjects must be obedient to their parents and old men. The Greek part of the inscription reads:

ΔΕΚΑ ΕΤΩΝ ΠΛΗΡΗ [. (.)..]ΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ
ΠΙΟΔΑΣΣΗΣ ΕΥΣΕΒΕΙΑΝ ΕΔΕΙΞΕΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΑΝ-
ΘΡΩΠΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΠΟ ΤΟΥΤΟΥ ΕΥΣΕΒΕΣΤΕΡΟΥΣ
ΤΟΥΣ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΥΣ ΕΠΟΙΗΣΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΝΤΑ
ΕΥΘΗΝΕΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΑΣΑΝ ΓΗΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΠΕΧΕΤΑΙ
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΤΩΝ ΕΜΨΥΧΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΟΙ ΛΟΙΠΟΙ ΔΕ
ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΟΣΟΙ ΘΗΡΕΥΤΑΙ Η ΑΛΙΕΙΣ
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΕΠΑΥΝΤΑΙ ΘΗΡΕΥΟΝΤΕΣ ΚΑΙ
ΕΙ ΤΙΝΕΣ ΑΚΡΑΤΕΙΣ ΠΕΠΑΥΝΤΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΑΚΡΑ-
ΣΙΑΣ ΚΑΤΑ ΔΥΝΑΜΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΝΗΚΟΟΙ ΠΑΤΡΙ
ΚΑΙ ΜΗΤΡΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΩΝ ΠΑΡΑ
ΤΑ ΠΡΟΤΕΡΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΛΟΙΠΟΥ ΛΩΙΟΝ
ΚΑΙ ΑΜΕΙΝΟΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΤΑΥΤΑ
ΠΟΙΟΥΝΤΕΣ ΔΙΑΞΟΥΣΙΝ.

In translation this reads:

After ten full years King Piodasse had the text of Mercy published to men and from this moment he made men merciful, and everything prospers all over the earth.

And the king abstains from (eating) living creatures, and so also the other men; and those who are hunters and fishers of the king cease from hunting; and if there are people who are incontinent they cease from incontinence by exerting every effort, and they obey their fathers, mothers and elders, too.

In present life and future time they will find themselves in better and preferable conditions from every point of view, if they behave in that way.[69]

Similar proclamations, demonstrating Aśoka's compassionate attitude towards living beings and his association with Indo-Greeks (Yonas) are found in some of his other Rock Edicts. The second Rock Edict describes the provision of medical treatment, shade and water for men and animals throughout his dominion and also in neighbouring countries. In this Edict the Yona King Antiochos (Antiyako Yona rājā) is mentioned by name.[70] The fifth and ninth Rock Edicts mention Yonas as the king's subjects devoted to Dharma.

The thirteenth Rock Edict proclaims that there is no country---except the Yonas'—where the classes of the Brāhmaṇas and the ascetics do not exist.[71] At the end of the same inscription we read that the king's dominion expanded to include different groups of people including the Yonas. Everywhere the Dharma instructions of the 'beloved of the gods'[72] were followed. Even in countries where envoys of Aśoka did not go, people having heard about Dharma practices and prescriptions, and his instructions, followed the Dharma and would continue to follow it into the future. The names of Greek kings were mentioned in the context of the conquest of Dharma, in the dominion of King Aśoka and all his borders, stretching as far as six hundred yojanas where the Yonaraja Antiyoko (Antiochos II Theos of Syria, 260–246 BC) rules and beyond that, where the other four kings—Tulamaye (Ptolemaios II Philadelphos of Egypt, 283–246 BC), Antekine (Antigonas Gonatas of Macedonia 278–239 BC), Makā (Magas of Cyrene, 300–250 BC), and Alikyaṣudale (Alexander of Epiros or Corinth, 272–258 BC)—rule.

From the above description we might presume that Aśoka, like his predecessors, had received Greek ambassadors in his court and that he had sent his envoys in return. Yet no Greek literature of that period remains which can help us verify the arrival of these missions. The Buddha and Buddhism were unknown in Greek texts. There in, the name of the Buddha was mentioned for the first time by the Christian author Clement of Alexandria (AD 154–222). He said: "Among the Indians are those philosophers also who follow the precepts of Bouta (Βούττα), whom they honour as a god on account of his extraordinary sanctity."[73] In another passage,[74] Clement mentioned that the Semnoi (Samaṇas) worship of a kind of 'pyramid' beneath which they think the bones of some divinity lie buried. These 'pyramids' could be identified as the Buddhist stūpas.[75] Also, the Buddha's name

and the story of his birth from the side of a virgin were mentioned by Saint Jerome (*c.* AD 340–420).[76]

GREEKS AND BUDDHISM

Buddhism began its transformation to a world religion under the vigorous patronage of Aśoka, who has been designated the Constantine of Buddhism. In addition, several missionaries (Dharmamahāmātras) were sent to propagate the principles of Dharma to alien nations, including the Yonas'. The Buddhist texts record that the Yona country was converted by Thera Mahārakkhita,[77] who was sent there after the Third Buddhist Council[78] which took place at Pāṭaliputra (modern Patna) during the reign of King Aśoka in 241 BC.

Most of the Greeks who lived under Indian influence were converted to Buddhism and to some extent their contribution to the spread of this religion was important. The Indianised names of many Yonaka monks found in the Pāli texts and inscriptions attest to this process. The Yonaka Dhammarakkhita Thera, who is remembered as the teacher of Punabbasukutumbikaputta-Tissa,[79] preached the *Aggikkhandopama Sutta* and is reported to have converted thirty-seven thousand people.[80] And the Yona Mahādhammarakkhita Thera, along with thirty thousand monks, came from Alasandā[81] to the foundation ceremony of the Mahā Thūpa.[82] From the exaggerated number of monks we might infer that Buddhism was popular in the city during this time.

The expansion of Buddhism to the Yona country has been well preserved in the memory of the Sri Lankan Theravāda Buddhists, who even today recite in their daily prayers the following stanza, "I bow my head to the footprints of the silent saint (Buddha) which are spread on the sandy-bank of Narmada river, on the Mountain Saccabhadda, on the Mountain Sumana, and in the city of Yonakas."[83]

The converted Yonas preserved certain rituals and beliefs from their original religion. This is indicated in the *Aṅguttara* commentary, where the Yonakas are spoken of as moving around, clad in white robes, in memory of the religion which was once prevalent in their country.[84]

The best illustration of the conversion of several Yonas to Buddhism is found in the Buddhist text *Milindapañha* (*Questions of King Milinda*), which records conversations between King Milinda and the elder Buddhist monk Nāgasena.[85] According to the text, Milinda carefully listens to Nāgasena's teachings and at the end of each discourse replies with the stereotyped, 'very good, Nāgasena.' The author finally presents King Milinda's conversion to Buddhism and his enlightenment:

> And afterwards, taking delight in the wisdom of the elder, he (King Milinda)

named over his kingdom to his son and abandoning the household life for the houseless state, grew great in insight, and himself attained to Arahantship.[86]

There is, however, no historical evidence that Menander (supposedly King Milinda) embraced Buddhism. None of the twenty-two different coins bearing his name show any sign of his conversion. Some scholars have tried to identify the sign of wheel depicted on a few of Menander's coins with the Buddhist Dharma Cakra (the Wheel of the Doctrine). The original form of the Dharma Cakra (found on the Aśoka pillars) has twenty-four spokes (representing the Eight-fold path, the Four Noble Truths and the Twelve Limbs of the Four Noble Truths) and their pointed ends touch, but do not cross the rim which is thick like that of a wheel. The cakra depicted on the coins of Menander consists of eight spokes whose pointed ends protrude slightly over the linear rim.[87] Its design reminds us of the golden disk, embossed with the star emblem of the Macedonian dynasty.

In any case, the cakra in India was not an exclusively Buddhist symbol. It is found on Neolithic pottery, rock shelters, Harappa and Mohenjo Daro seals, punch marked coins, and other artefacts.[88] The number of spokes varies from one thousand to four. Thecakra represents the revolving wheel of the sun as well as the supreme moral order in the Jain and Buddhist traditions. In the Vaiṣṇava tradition it is known as 'sudarśana cakra' and in a number of Paurāṇic stories it is used by Lord Viṣṇu and the Goddess Durgā as a weapon to destroy evil. The symbolism of the wheel occurs also in the Greek tradition. Anaximander perceived both the Sun[89] and the Cosmic Order[90] as wheels. In the Orphic tradition the cycle of reincarnation was known as the 'wheel of birth' and in the Dionysian cult it was represented by the circular dance. On coins of the Indo-Greek kings it occurs only on those of Menander. The epithet 'Dikaios' (Dhramikasa) following the name of Menander on some of his coins also is not exclusively Buddhist.

Most of Menander's coins portray the Goddess Athena (Pallas) hurling a thunderbolt. This along with Plutarch's statement that King Menander died in a military camp indicate that he did not embrace Buddhist monasticism. Plutarch said:

> A certain Menander ruled with equanimity and died in a military camp. The cities in other respects joined together in celebrating his obsequies, but over his relics a dispute arose among them which was settled upon by agreeing that each one was to take back an equal share of his ashes so that memorials might be set up among them all.[91]

The description of the funeral and the distribution of his ashes in different cities has striking similarities with the description of the distribution of the ashes of the Buddha in the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* of the *Dīgha*

Nikāya.[92] However, although both the Buddha and Menander were cremated in a similar manner, this does not prove that Menander became Buddhist. On the contrary, the similarity occurs because the body of the Buddha was treated like the body of a king. The Venerable Ānanda stated that the body of the Tathāgata should be treated in the same way as the remains of a Universal Monarch.[93] It is also possible that Plutarch had heard the popular story of Buddha and applied it to the personage of Menander.

The *Milindapañha* was compiled at a later time than that of Menander and it is believed that many parts of the text are spurious.[94] The meeting and discussion of Milinda with the six heretical teachers, for example, is a clear plagiarism of the *Sīlakkhandha Vagga* of *Sāmaññaphala Sutta*, where King Ajātaśattu of Magadha is said to have visited the same sophists.[95] The inclusion of Nigaṇṭha Nāṭaputta (Mahāvīra) and Makkhali Gosāla (leader of the Ājīvakas) as contemporaries of Milinda[96] adds to the scepticism concerning the historical accuracy of the text. Both these teachers are known to have been contemporaries of the Buddha. What can be said with greater certainty is that Menander had expanded his kingdom into North India where Buddhism was flourishing. From the positive description of the Yona country given in Buddhist texts,[97] we might infer that the Greek king sympathised with Buddhist causes and for this reason became popular within the Buddhist communities. "If the Greek king was not himself actually a member of the Buddhist Order, he was at least so great a benefactor that the community looked upon him as one of their own."[98]

A similar attitude towards Buddhists seems to have been held by the predecessor of Menander, Agathocles. On a unique coin issued by him there is the depiction of a Buddhist stūpa and the legend 'Akathukreyasa'; on the reverse is a tree inside a railing with the legend 'Hirañasame.'[99] The coin, like others issued by the same king, is monolingual and inscribed exclusively in Kharoṣṭhī. From this coin it is evident that some Greeks were familiar with Buddhist symbols and that Agathocles favoured communalism in his dominion. No theory of conversion to Buddhism or other religion, however, can be established on the basis of numismatic evidence alone. Several rulers are known to have issued coins with local deities not belonging to their personal religion. Kaniṣka, a Buddhist emperor, for instance, issued coins with Iranian, Greek, Hindu and Buddhist deities and Akbar, a Muslim emperor, issued coins with the popular Indian deities Sītā and Rāma depicted on them.

Despite the broad claims of mass conversions by Aśoka and Buddhist texts there is no substantial evidence to prove that Buddhism spread with any great speed or that it had reached the Greeks living outside Indian states. The Greek kings continued to depict Greek deities on their coins and we do not have a single image of the Buddha belonging to this period.

The earlier representation of the Buddha in human figures is found in the sculptures of the Gandhāra school of art, which followed or imitated the patterns of Hellenistic art, but began to flourish under the Kuṣāṇas.[100]

GREEKS AND HINDUISM

While Buddhism was always ready to embrace people of all castes and races, this was not the case in the Brāhmaṇic tradition. It has been rightly said, that the orthodox Āryans overestimated their knowledge to such a degree that they looked at foreign customs and beliefs with condemnation. The Āryan follower of the infallible and eternal Veda could learn nothing from 'mlecchas' (foreigners) in matters concerning religion (dharma).[101] Travel abroad (beyond the end of the quarters) and association with foreigners was not only discouraged but considered inauspicious, causing evil and death.[102] Furthermore, the Brāhmaṇa was prohibited to converse with impure persons; foreigners and low-caste persons were equally perceived as sources of defilement.[103] Access to the Vedic scriptures was strictly limited to Hindus and particularly to those born into the Brāhmaṇa caste.[104] Conversion was not possible and so 'mlecchas' could not even hope for initiation (abhiṣeka) into the Hindus' sacred tradition.

However, a clay tablet found in excavations conducted by D.R. Bhandarkar in Besnagar (in the state of Madhya Pradesh) in 1913, seems to contradict this commonly accepted view, or at least gives ground for possible exceptions. The tablet was found in the same place as a pillar erected by the Greek Ambassador Heliodoros. The particular tablet has been seen as a token or 'passport' of admittance to the sacrificial ground. There is an impression of a seal on it, but the meaning of the legend is not clear.[105] The word 'Ṭimitra' along with technical terms from sacrificial literature; 'hotā,' 'potā' and 'mantra' are inscribed on it. Bhandarkar has suggested that the seal was connected with the yajñāśalā (sacrificial hall) and that the meaning of the legend could be, "Of the donor Ṭimitra, accompanied by the Hotā, Potā, hymn-kinsmen. . . ." Bhandarkar[106] has seen in the word 'Ṭimitra' a 'beyond doubt' Sanskritised form of the Greek name Demetrios and hence it appears that the Greek was the donor or Yajñamāna who instituted the sacrifice. Further support of this view could be derived from the Paurāṇic story of Sagara, where it is indirectly suggested that Yavanas, prior to their punishment by Sagara, were eligible to practice and participate in fire rituals and the study of Vedic texts.[107] There is no doubt that a Greek Embassy (and perhaps a community of Greek merchants) was living in the capital of Vidiṣā in those days.[108] But Bhandarkar's hypothesis that Greeks were allowed to participate in Vedic rituals remains extremely doubtful. Narain[109] has stated that this theory

lacks any proof because Indian names ending in '-mitra' were common among the Vidiśā kings.

There were, however, several other Hindu sects formed mainly by non-Brāhmaṇa Hindus, which were more open to lower classes and foreign people. Such were the Pāśupatas (devotees of Lord Śiva) and the Bhāgavatas or Pañcarātras (devotees of Lord Viṣṇu) who sought salvation through the devout love of God. Their doctrines were chiefly expounded in epic, Paurāṇic, and Tāntrika literature. To what extent could Greeks worship these Indian deities? In a passage of the *Padma Purāṇa,*[110] Lord Śiva explains to Nārada that everyone is entitled to initiation rites (nyāsa), even Cāṇḍālas (outcastes), women, Śūdras, Kirātas, Pulindas, Puskaras, Ābhīras, Yavanas, Kaṅkas and other foreigners and criminals. Likewise, the *Mahābhārata*[111] discusses, in the form of a dialogue between Indra and Māndhātṛ, the duties that foreigners (including Yavanas) should practice. The duties mentioned are: service to parents, preceptors and other elders and hermits; obedience to kings and the laws and rituals prescribed in the Veda; celebration of sacrifice in honour of departed manes; the digging of wells for public welfare; the distribution of presents amongst Brāhmaṇas; abstention from injury; control of anger; truthful speech; maintenance of wife and children; and finally, the celebration of all kinds of Paka yajñās (sacrifices by householders).[112]

A Garuḍa pillar ('Garuḍadhvaja,' i.e., a pillar surmounted by an image of Garuḍa, the eagle who carries Lord Viṣṇu) with a Brāhmī inscription in the Prākṛta language found in Besnagar gives some more specific indication. From the inscription we gather that the pillar was erected by Heliodoros (*c.* 90 BC), an ambassador of King Antialcidas to the Vidiśā King Bhāgabhadra. On the second line of the inscription Heliodoros describes himself as a 'bhāgavat' ('bhāgavatena' in instrumental case). The term has been often interpreted as 'a worshipper of Viṣṇu', but literally means, 'the possessor of noble qualities.' However, his use of the term 'bhāgavat' in conjunction with his Greek name 'Heliodoreṇa' (in instrumental case) confounded by the uncertain sense in which he employs the term 'bhāgavat' (which was often, but not always, used to denote a follower of Lord Viṣṇu) leaves us no convincing conclusion. Moreover, the Greek title 'Savior' (Sk. Trātāra, Gr. Σωτὴρ) given to Bhāgabhadra in the same inscription makes Heliodoros seem more likely to have been an excellent politician than a devotee of Viṣṇu.

In addition, the Indianised images of two deities found on Indo-Greek coins may be seen as an early influence of the Hindu religion on the Greek pantheon or perhaps as an indication of the familiarity of the Greeks with the Indian deities. The first, known as 'kaviṣiye nagara devata' (the city deity of Kapiśā), has been depicted on the reverse side of a copper square

coin issued by King Eukratides (ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ). The deity sits on a throne and holds a wreath and palm; to the right of the throne is the head of an elephant and to the left a mountain; above this is an indistinct monogram and a Kharoṣṭhī legend beginning from the right and going around the coin "Kaviśiyenaga. . . ."[113] The Prākṛta legend is not translated into Greek. Originally the deity was identified as Zeus seated on a throne but later scholars have doubted this interpretation as the usual attributes of Zeus (i.e., his sceptre, aegis and thunderbolt) are absent.[114] It is not clear whether the particular deity is a Greek in Indian garb or an Indian in Hellenistic form.

The second deity is an elephant-headed Zeus which resembles the Indian deity Gaṇeśa. It is depicted on the reverse of a silver drachma of the Indo-Greek king Hermaeos. Agha Inayat Ali Shah has forwarded the idea that the Greek god Zeus on the coin has been Indianised by being depicted with a trunk. He also suggested that the elephant-headed Zeus, like the deity of Kapiśā on Eukratides' coin, indicates local influence on Greek currency. The theory was affirmed by Narain, but was rejected by Osmund Bopearachchi as based on mistaken identity. The latter confirmed Cribb's hypothesis that the coin was not struck by the Indo-Greeks but by their nomadic successors and claimed that the deity represented on this coin is Zeus-Mithra wearing the Phrygian cap, which Agha Inayat Ali Shah and Narain had confused with the elephant's trunk.[115]

As far as is known, the anthropomorphic representation of Indian deities on coins began after the fall of the Indo-Greek kingdoms, when invaders adopted Greek numismatic art and devices and began depicting several local deities on their coins. The Abhiṣeka Lakṣmī on the coins of the Śaka King Azilises and Lord Śiva on the coins of the Kuṣāṇa ruler Wima Kadphises are probably the first purely Indian deities to be introduced upon coinage.

THE INDIANS AND THE GREEK RELIGION

It is generally held that, like the Hindus, the Greeks were ethnocentric and not interested in conversion. This view is best expressed in the extreme statement that to the Greeks all non-Hellenes were 'barbarians.' In later times, however, especially after the end of the Peloponnesian wars and the expansion of Macedonian Empire to the East, the ethnocentric attitude of the Hellenes towards foreigners changed. Sophists, Cynics, Democritos, Peripatetics, Epicurians, and Stoics all spoke of the equality of man and the unity of humanity. The meaning of the word 'foreigner,' in these later cases, changed from 'barbarian' (βάρβαρος) to 'guest' or 'host' (ξένος). The real Hellene was no longer designated by his birth but by his learning and his nobility.

The end of the fourth century BC foreshadowed the realisation of Alexander's vision for a new unified world. Alexander's Empire formed a new economic and cultural zone, extending from Greece to India and from the Crimea to Nubia and the Sahara, on the fringes of Africa. Alexander founded about seventy cities that bore his name, from Alexandria in Egypt to Alexandria-Eschate on Sogdiane. The cities located in Northwest India are: Alexandria-Bucephala and Alexandria-Nicaea on the east and west banks of Hydaspes (Jhelum), Alexandria on the upper Acesines (Chenab) river, Alexandria at the confluence of the Chenab and Indus, and Alexandria in Sogdiane. These cities became important centres for the spread of Greek culture and the merging of Hellenism with the different cultures of Asia. The ideal of a united world became predominant and the former nationalistic values dissolved. The highest ideals addressed by Alexander in the Open in front of nine thousand officers and leaders of all races, might be seen as an indication that the Macedonian king, like Aśoka the Mauryan after him, had finally realised that real peace could never be established with racial discrimination and the use of violence:

> Now as the wars come to an end, I wish that you will live happily in peace. All mortals, from now onwards, should live like one nation, in amity, for the common progress. You should consider the world as your country, with common laws, where the noble ones will govern. I do not divide the people into Greeks and Barbarians as the narrow-minded do. I am neither interested in the origin of the citizens nor concerned with the race into which they were born. I classify them with only one criterion, Virtue. For me, every good foreigner (xenos) is a Greek and every bad Greek is worse than a Barbarian. If ever there would be disputes do not take resort to the use of weapons but solve them peacefully. If there is a need I shall stand as your arbitrator. You should not think about God as a despotic governor, but as the common father of all; so your behaviour should be like that which the brothers in a family have. From my side I consider all, white and black, as equal. I do not want you to be merely the subjects of my state but participants and partners. To the full extent of my capacity I shall try to apply whatever I promise. Keep this vow that we give today with prudence as a symbol of love.[116]

The campaign of Alexander introduced to the East the administrative system and the higher scientific culture of the Macedonians. There is also good evidence that the Greeks researched the Persian texts and translated the Hebrew holy books.[117] But in matters concerning religion, the Greeks could not and did not claim any superiority. Under the Hellenistic rulers, with the sole exception of the unsuccessful attempt of Antiochos IV to Hellenise Palestine, the national religions enjoyed complete toleration. The Asiatic deities Attis and Cybele and the Egyptian cults of Sarapis and Isis gained a foothold in the Greek world, yet not in such measure as in the

Roman Empire. Greek deities such as Zeus (Zeus-Oromazdes) and Hermes (Hermes-Mithras) were transformed and blended into the Iranian pantheon.[118] Gradually traditional religion lost power and was substituted with philosophical creeds, king worship, and public ceremonies (panegyris).

The vast Alexandrian empire did not last for long. The struggles between his successors (διάδοχοι and επίγονοι) which followed after the death of the Macedonian king led to its final fragmentation. However, the example of Alexander was followed by the Indo-Greek kings, especially by Eukratides and Demetrios, who built new cities that bore their names, Eukratidia and Demetrias.

During the years 1965–80 a French archaeological group made excavations near tbe village Ai-Khanum in North Afghanistan. They brought to light the ruins of a Greek city that flourished for two centuries after the death of Alexander. The city, now known as Ai-Khanum or Alexandria of Oxos, is situated on the confluence of Oxos (modern Amu Darya) and Kokcha rivers. It was founded either by Alexander or by Seleucos and remained under Greek rule up to the time of King Eukratides (170–145 BC). This is testified by the fact that the most recent coins discovered at the archaeological site depict the portrait of Eukratides. The discovery of bronze blanks for coins not yet struck shows that the city had its own mint and had probably functioned as the capital of Eukratides in the eastern part of Bactria.

The ancient city is protected by the rivers to the south and west and by a natural acropolis to the east. Along the northern edge there is a solid mudbrick wall more than ten metres high and eight metres thick. In the city there are the unearthed remains of a large palace with Persian architecture, similar to that of Darius at Susa. The great formal courtyard is enclosed by four porticoes, each having one hundred eighteen columns with Corinthian capitals. Hellenic influence is most evident in the city's gymnasium and the theatre. On the entrance to the gymnasium there is an inscription dedicated to Hermes and Hercules written by Trivallos and Straton, sons of Straton, (Τριβαλλὸς καὶ Στράτων Στράτωνος Ἑρμῆ, Ἡρακλεῖ). The theatre has seats for six thousand spectators and is larger than the one found in Babylon. Outside near the theatre there is a fountain spout carved to represent the theatrical mask worn by the cook-slave in Greek comedies. The Greek influence is also evident in about fifty elite residential quarters that are decorated with Greek pillars and have luxurious baths and mosaic floors.

The settlers maintained the Greek custom of burying their dead outside the city walls. Two tombs, replicas of small temples, however, were erected within the city and probably served as heroes' monuments. The earlier of them was erected in honour of a certain Kineas (probably the Cypriot philosopher of Solous). A stone pillar stood in front of its porch. The upright has been destroyed but on the base is engraved, in Greek language and

script, the last five of a series of one hundred and fifty maxims that appear in Apollo's sanctuary at Delphi. The text reads (in translation):

> These wise words of the famous ancient men are considered sacred at Delphi. From there they were copied with care by Clearchos in order to be placed on the shrine of Kineas and to shine in far distance, 'In childhood be modest, in youth be temperate, in middle age be just, in old age think rightly, and at the point of death be without grief.'[119]

The few Greek inscriptions made in public places show that the citizens desired to maintain their original heritage and continued to speak and write Greek correctly. Further clear evidence of the preservation of the philosophical and cultural tradition is found in the room that served as the library of the palace. Although the parchments and papyrus had long ago deteriorated, the ink of two manuscripts left its imprints on stones. The decipherment has shown that they contained a fragment of an unidentified (probably Aristotelian) philosophical text and part of a drama dialogue.

Not all the residents of the city were Greeks. Non-Hellenic names, such as Oxeboakes and Oxubazes (after the local river deity) were found along with the Greek names in the inscriptions. Non-Hellenic influences are evident in most of the buildings including the t hreetemples. The main temple built within the city, has a clearly Persian and Mesopotamian architectural influence. The statue of the deity has been destroyed and the few remaining fragments are not sufficient to enable us to discern whether it had represented a Greek deity or not. A broken foot of the statue wears a sandal with beautiful designs but it is not clear if the deity was male or female. Paul Bernard has suggested the libation vessels buried at the base of the podium are evidence that the performed rites were not Greek. The second temple, outside the city wall, strongly resembles the main temple. There is also a large stepped platform at the south-west corner of the acropolis which reminds us of the Zoroastrians' habit of worshipping in open air.

The preservation of the Greek religion is attested from the deities depicted on the coins, the names of Greek gods written in the inscriptions, and a scene from Greek mythology depicted on a gold-covered silver plate. The plate shows Cybele, the Graeco-Phrygian goddess of nature, riding in a chariot drawn by lions and driven by Nike, the Greek winged goddess of victory. Two priests are in the background and in the sky shines the anthropomorphically represented Helios (sun), the moon and a star. The iconographic elements are mostly Greek but also show Oriental influences. A female figurine modelled in terracotta or ivory probably represents a local deity but shows no indication of Greek artistic influence. The figurine is shown either fully clothed and laden with jewels or completely naked.[120]

Little remains to give us much of an idea about the religious practices of

the Graeco-Bactrian people in other areas. Although the existence of Greek temples and religious shrines in Barygaza and Taxila has been recorded in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*[121] and in the *Life of Apollonios of Tyana*,[122] time in its eternal process of change has swept them away and no trace of a pure Greek temple has been found. In the Peshawar Valley, in Taxila, and in Kashmir, however, there are a few temples (Jhandial, Shah-Dehri, Jamalgari, Takhti-Bahi, Mārtaṇḍa, etc.) with evident Greek (Doric, Ionic and Corinthian) influence in their pillars. They have all been attributed to the Śaka and Kuṣāṇa period. The Śakas who occupied Greek territories copied the Greeks' architectural forms and their town-planning schemes.[123]

Moreover, the Indians are known to have been influenced by relationships with foreigners in their midst, at various stages of their history. V.S. Agrawala, for instance, has identified the female deities Apala (Pallas), Anahita (Iranian water goddess), Timissakesi (Artemis), Airani (Aphrodite), Tidhani (Diana), and Sali (Selene), mentioned in the *Aṅgavijjā* as being Greek, Roman, and Iranian respectively.[124] Likewise, the employment of Magi (Magas) priests in the Sun temples of North India has been noticed by Varāhamihira, Alberuni, and the author of the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*.[125] It would therefore be incorrect to presume that in India the Greeks, who had close interaction with local people, excluded 'foreigners' from their rites and initiations. In support of this view we might mention Plutarch who said that Alexander built great altars, for which the Præsians still retain much veneration, and their kings cross the Ganges every year to offer sacrifices in the Grecian manner upon them.[126]

Also, it is quite natural to infer that some Indians would have wished to learn more about Greek deities and the religious bearings of the bilingual Indo-Greek coins which were in daily use. The Indo-Greek coins which circulated mainly in Bactria were monolingual, inscribed in Greek. Those circulated in India, however, were bilingual, with Greek on the obverse and the local Indian language Prākṛta in Kharoṣṭhī characters on the reverse. A few bilingual coins issued by Pantaleon and Agathocles were written in Greek and Brāhmī. A single monolingual coin of Agathocles was written exclusively in Kharoṣṭhī on both sides. In the bilingual coins every obverse Greek word was exactly translated in Prākṛta on the reverse. A few examples are: 'Great king' (Gr. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ, Pr. Mahārājasa and Mahatasa); 'Unconquered' (Gr. ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΣ, Pr. Apaḍihata); 'Righteous' (Gr. ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ, Pr. Dhramika and Dhramia); 'Eminent' (Gr. ΕΠΙΦΑΝΗΣ, Pr. Prachachha); 'Benefactor' (Gr. ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΣ, Pr. Kalanakrama); 'Great' (Gr. ΜΕΓΑΣ, Pr. Mahata and Mahataka); 'Victorious' (Gr. ΝΙΚΑΤΩΡ and ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΣ, Pr. Jayadhara); 'Saviour' (Gr. ΣΩΤΗΡ, Pr. Tratara); 'Friend of father' (Gr. ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΩΡ, Pr. Priyapita),

and others. Some incidents of irregularity are however observable. The unique epithet ΘΕΟΣ (God) adopted by Antimachos I and Euthydemos I (after death), the epithet ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ (Emperor) which occurs on the monolingual coins of Theophilos and the royal title ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΑ (Queen) of Agathokleia and her epithet ΘΕΟΤΡΟΠΟΣ (God-faced) are not met with equivalent Prākṛta terms.[127]

The portraits of Greek gods and goddesses depicted on coins include: Zeus, Athena, Artemis, Hercules, Dionysos, Demeter, Poseidon, Apollo, Dioskouroi (the twin brothers Castor and Pollux), Nike, Hecate, Helios, Hermes, and Triton. Frequently occurring symbols are: the 'Two Piloi' representing Dioskouroi, 'Cornucopiae' corn at the hand of Demeter and the caduceus of Hermes, and the tripod of Apollo. They are usually placed on the reverse of the coins but occasionally they are placed on the obverse. The palm frond (a symbol of excellence) appears to be associated with Poseidon, Nike, Dioskouroi, etc. Sometimes, e.g. on the coins of Antimachos II and Menander, it also appears independently.[128] The anonymous author of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* informs us that coins were circulated for a long time after the death of the king who had issued them, ". . . hence up to the present day old drachmae bearing the Greek inscriptions of Apollodotos and Menander are current in Barugaza (modern Broach)."[129]

The possibility cannot be dismissed that some Indians, especially those who intermarried with Greeks, may have been familiar with Greek religion and may even have adopted Greek deities in their pantheon. However, as one would expect, there are no direct references to Indians adopting the Greek religion in Indian literature.

Some references concerning the spread of Greek culture in India are found in the current Greek literature. Dion Chrysostomos stated that the poetry of Homer is sung even by the Indians, who had translated it into their own language and speech.[130] This corresponds with the description of Plutarch, who enumerating the great deeds of Alexander, said that by his efforts Asia was civilised and Homer was read there and that the children of the Persians of the Susenians and the Gedrosians learned to sing the tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides.[131] These words are re-echoed by Claudius Aelian (second century AD), who cited the previous authorities when he wrote, "not only the Indians, but the kings of Persia have translated and sung the poems of Homer, if one is to believe writers on these subjects."[132] At approximately the same time Nikolaos Damaskinos (first century BC–first century AD) stated that at Antioch near Daphne (a celebrated grove and sanctuary of Apollo) he met with Indian ambassadors carrying a letter from a great Indian king (a sovereign of six hundred kings) called Poros[133] to the Roman Emperor Augustus Caesar. The letter was written on a skin in Greek apparently by Poros.

Additionally, Philostratos informs us that Apollonios of Tyana met with no difficulty in communicating in Greek throughout his journey in India.[134] Phraotes, the king of Taxila, spoke to him in Greek and said that he was acquainted with the Greek drama *Heraclidae.* Philostratos also said that Apollonios met the inhabitants of a village at the foot of the mountain, near the city of Paraka, who spoke in Greek. Iarchas, the chief of 'Sophoi' was not only familiar with the most abstruse doctrines of Greek philosophy and details of the *Iliad,* Greek history, and philosophy but also welcomed him in perfect Greek. In like manner, Athenaeos (AD 596) stated that Alexander staged on the soil of India the play *Agen,*[135] and that Bindusāra, the son and successor of Candragupta and Aśoka's father sent a letter to King Antiochos I of Syria, requesting figs, sweet wine and a sophist to teach him how to debate.[136] All these indicate that from Alexander onwards the Homeric epics and the Greek theatre[137] and language were known in Asia and reached as far as India.[138]

It is quite valid, therefore, to suggest that certain educated Indians were familiar with the Hellenic epics, poetry, mythology, and drama, which inspired them to introduce Greek religious ideas into their own. One such example was presented by Derpett who compared the *Third Homeric Hymn of Apollo* with the story of the birth of the Buddha and concluded: "At any rate we can posit the Homeric hymns as a source of Buddhist inspiration and embellishment."[139] A similar view was shared by Arora[140] who quoted the Greek authorities, who stated that certain Indians were familiar with the Greek language, the Homeric epics and the tragedies of Euripides and Sophocles to conclude that some Greek impact on Indian legends actually took place. He supported his thesis by pointing out the striking similarities between the story of the 'hollow wooden elephant' which was filled with soldiers and used in a similar way by the king of Ujjain as the Greeks had used the Trojan horse. He also compared the episode of Vijaya in the Ceylonese text *Mahāvaṁsa* with the tale of Odysseus on the island of Circe. In another work,[141] the same author presented details of several correlations between Greek and Indian myths. A few examples are: the birth of the Bhṛgu race from the thigh of Sage Aurva and Dionysos' birth from the thigh of Zeus; the vulnerable heels of Kṛṣṇa and Achilles; and Draupadī's svayamvara (selection of bride) and Penelope's suitors.

Anyone familiar with the Indian and Greek great epics cannot fail to recognise the common agonies and aspirations that characterised the life of these early people. Greeks and Indians simply projected in different faces and stories the same sides of their complex personalities. The carrying away of both Sītā and Helen by foreigners, and the invasions in both Laṅkā and Troy that subsequently follow, no doubt present striking resemblances between Homer's *Iliad* and Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa.*[142] However, the

character of the devoted wife which is illustrated by Sītā and Penelope, finds no correspondence in the unfaithful spouse of Menelaos. Some influence was there, but Indian epics were by no means copied or derived from the Homeric ones.[143] One would not expect to find as great an Hellenic influence in India, as in the West.

Other parallels can be drawn between the Greek and Mahāyāna dialectical and metaphysical speculations as well as between the democratic institutions shared by the Greek states and Buddhist Saṅghas. The facts that a significant number of Greeks (Yonas or Yonakas) were converted to Buddhism as early as the time of Aśoka and that the Indo-Greeks were finally absorbed into the Indian Buddhist society, give ground to the possibility that several aspects of Greek religion may have been introduced to India. All these suggest that whatever existed was transformed and adjusted to form the new polytheistic universal religion of Mahāyāna Buddhism, which to a certain extent was the result of the direct contact between early Buddhism and the cosmopolitan spirit of the Greeks. The meeting and final confluence of the two religions on the Indian soil is to be seen as an intermarriage of ideas, faiths, and rituals. Absolute dominion or absolute extinction do not exist in this world.

Moreover, the majority of Indian philosophical systems developed in areas and times closely associated with the presence of the Indo-Greeks, who had come from their motherland with a rich philosophical and dialectical heritage. This historical association gives rise to questions concerning a possible Greek influence on the systematisation and development of the Indian philosophical traditions. Burnet in his short reference to Indian philosophy admitted that the Indians were the only ancient people besides the Greeks who ever had anything that deserved the name of philosophy. He, however, suggested that Indian philosophy arose under Greek influence:

> No one now will suggest that Greek philosophy came from India, and indeed everything points to the conclusion that Indian philosophy arose under Greek influence. The chronology of Sanskrit literature is an extremely difficult subject; but, so far as we can see, the great Indian systems are later in date than the Greek philosophies they most nearly resemble. Of course the mysticism of the Upanishads and of Buddhism was of native growth; but, though these influenced philosophy in the strict sense profoundly, they were related to it only as Hesiod and the Orphics were related to Greek scientific thought.[144]

Vidyabhushana held similar views when he compared the Aristotelian syllogism with its Indian counterparts and concluded that the logical theories of Aristotle migrated from Greece to India between the second century BC and seventh century AD.[145] Other examples of possible Greek influences on Indian thought include: (1) the theory of atoms, as was expounded by

Democritos and appears in the later development of Buddhist, Jain and Vaiśeṣika atomic theories; (2) the illusory world and immovable Being in Parmenidean philosophy which find striking resemblance with Śaṅkarācārya's 'Māyā' and 'Brahman' respectively; (3) the doctrine of the emanation of Plotinos, which exactly agrees with that of Ābhāsavāda in Kaśmīr Śaivism; and (4) the similarity between the Greek 'logos' and the Indian 'vāc' which was suddenly revived and developed during the same period.

While the depth and deep-rottenness of the Indian philosophical traditions makes one feel that Burnet and Vidyabhushana may be propounding extremist views, the above observations do lend fuel to the enquiry regarding whether, or to what extent, the Indian philosophical systems were influenced by Greek thought. Certainly at present it is not possible to posit any definite theories, and the whole topic will be a rewarding area of future research.

AFTER THE FALL OF BACTRIA

Strabo, in his second book, informs us that according to Apollodoros of Artemita the four nomadic tribes that conquered the Bactrian kingdom were the Asii, the Pasiani, the Tochari, and the Sacarauli, but in Trogus' prologue to Book XLI the Asiani and Saraucae alone were mentioned. However, it is now known that the Pahlavas (Parthians), the Śakas (Scythians), and the Kuṣāṇas (known to Chinese as Yueh-Chi) snatched Bactria from the divided Indo-Greek kings in different time periods during the last part of the first century BC.

Kuzula Kadphises, the first Kuṣāṇa ruler of India, jointly issued coins with Hermaeos, the last Greek king in Bactria. The coins are bilingual, Greek and Kharoṣṭhī, with Hercules depicted on the reverse side. Kuzula Kadphises later issued coins alone which suggests that Hermaeos was overthrown or succeeded by Kuzula. The continuation of the depiction of Greek deities on a number of coins issued by those invaders in Bactria indicates that the Greek religion continued to be popular for a few more centuries.

Kuzula's successor, Wima Kadphises, issued bilingual gold coins picturing the Indian deity Śiva. Kaniṣka I, the successor of Wima, ended the bilingual tradition and retained only the Greek script (with some irregular and a few additional letters). Originally, on his first coins, he used the Greek title 'Basileos Basileon Kaniṣkou,' but later adopted the Iranian title 'shā onāno shāo,' which has the same meaning, 'king of kings.' On the reverse of his coins we see a number of deities bearing Iranian,[146] Indian[147] and Greek names (Helios, Selene and Hephaistos) all written in Greek script. Huviṣka, the successor of Kaniṣka, maintained almost all previous deities including Hercules and Serapes (a Graeco-Egyptian deity). On some of his

coins Śiva appears with the non-Indian goddess, Nānā inscribed as Ommo (perhaps the name of the consort of Śiva, Ūma). The depiction of Greek deities on Indian coins came to an end with Huviṣka. Greek script was used until the fall of the Kuṣāṇas and the rise of the Sassanids sometime in the middle of the third century AD.

Greek deities were also depicted on the coins issued by the two main lines of the Śakas—the line of Maues in Punjab and its adjusted territories and the line of Vonones in Kandhahar (Arachosia) and Baluchistan (Gedrosia and Drangiana). Maues' most common coin bears the caduceus (staff of the god Hermes) on the reverse and the Greek legend 'Basileos Mauou.' All other coins are bilingual with Kharoṣṭhī legends on the reverse. The silver coins of Vonones depict Zeus standing with a long sceptre and thunderbolt. Copper coins represent Hercules crowning himself on the obverse and Athena standing with a shield and spear on the reverse with the Greek title 'Basileos Basileon Megalou Ononou.' On the reverse of the coins of Spalyris (successor of Vonones) are the effigies of Zeus or Hercules and the Greek legend 'Basileos Basileon.' The portraits of Zeus, Nike, Athena, and Hercules are depicted on the tetradrachmas and drachmas of Azes I. Also, Gondophares I, a Parthian king who succeeded Azes II, issued coins with the Greek deities Nike, Athena and Zeus and was the second after Theophilos to use the title 'AYTOKPATΩP' (emperor).[148] The dominion of the Śakas ended at the beginning of the second century AD with the expansion of the Kuṣāṇa Empire.

The representation of the Buddha and other Indian deities in human form has also been ascribed to a Greek artistic influence. The serene expression and the wavy hair on the head of Buddha has been compared to that of Apollo and the rippling folds of his dress to the dress worn by Greek and Roman philosophers. Likewise, Zeus in the form of Vajrapāṇi is always depicted besides Buddha.[149] Several other Greek themes are depicted on seals, soft stones, medals, and terracottas, and used as decorations in several places in India. These include deities such as Hercules, Dionysos, a variety of figures of Silenoi and Maenads from the entourage of Dionysos; and scenes from Greek mythology, such as Bacchanalian scenes,[150] marine subjects, Atlas, Tritons fighting with gods, Centaurs,[151] etc.

The majority of the Graeco-Buddhist sculptures are found in the Peshawar Valley (the Gandhāra in *Rgveda*), which was a principal seat of Hellenic culture in India. However, the flourishing of the Gandhāra school of architecture and sculpture was limited to foreign kings. It does not belong to the period of the Indo-Greeks but to the Indo-Scythian period, which succeeded and copied them in many aspects. Gandhāra art is valuable for the information it contains concerning history and religion, but it did not last for

long. The majority of its sculptures are products of low artistic proficiency.

A few Yavanas also appear on the list of pious donors in the Buddhist caves of Karle (seven records), Nāsik (one record), and Junnar (three records), in Maharashtra which were constructed during the first and second century AD.[152] As the places of their residence origin have not yet been identified, it cannot be said with certainty whether they refer to Greeks belonging to Buddhist communities or not. A few rock-inscriptions in Greek script (called Bactrian Greek or Hephthalite) were also discovered recently in Afghanistan. Their ductus is younger than that of the Kuṣano-Sasānian coins and is similar to the ductus which was employed by the Hephthalites and by the Turkī Sahis of Kābul. One of them reads:

ναμω ο 6οδο
ναμω ο δουαρμο (υ has the phonetic value of h)
ναμω ο σαγγο[153]

This corresponds to the Buddhist formula "Namo Buddhasya, Namo Dharmasya, Namo Saṅgasya" (I bow to the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Buddhist community), suggesting that in later times Buddhism was present in this region. However, as the Greek script was used by several foreign peoples we can not say with certainty that the authors of these inscriptions were Greeks.[154] Gradually Greek religion and language were lost and finally the Indo-Greeks became assimilated into Indian society.

EARLY TRAVELS TO INDIA

A few references to travels in India are reported during the first century BC and the early Christian period. Diodoros Siculus (c. 90–20 BC) preserved in the second book of his *History of the World* the autobiography of the Greek traveller Iambulos, who said that during a travel to South Arabia, he was kidnapped by robbers and sent to an ideal island where the inhabitants worshipped the Sun and followed a platonic socio-political system. Iambulos spent seven years there enjoying an easy and happy life but finally he and his companion were compelled to take their leave. After a long sea-voyage that lasted for more than four months Iambulos arrived in India. The native villagers brought him to the presence of the king of Palibothra, a city which was at a distance of many days journey from the sea. The king of Palibothra was friendly to the Greeks and was devoted to learning.[155] He gave Iambulos a cordial welcome and provided him with all the necessary means to pass safely into Persia and from there to Greece.

Clement of Alexandria[156] mentioned his predecessor Pantainos, the first to attain fame in the Catechetical School of Alexandria, who also is said to have gone on a missionary expedition to India at the end of the second century AD. Clement said that Pantainos taught that the prophets used the

present sometimes for the future and sometimes for the past, but his works have not been preserved.

We also hear of a certain Greek philosopher named Demetrios of Sounio (first century AD), perhaps a pupil of the cynic philosopher Agathobulos of Rhodes. He gave up his property and departed with his companion for India. There he lived the end of his life among the Brāhmaṇas.[157]

Flavius Philostratos (c. AD 170–244), in his popular work *Life of Apollonios of Tyana,* speaks of the travels to India of a Greek Neopythagorean philosopher named Apollonios (born at Tyana in Cappadocia at the beginning of the first century AD). Philostratos drew his materials from the notebook of Damis, Apollonios' fellow-traveller, whose descendants gave it to Julia Domna, the wife of the Roman Emperor Severos. She handed it over to Philostratos requesting that he write the story of the life of Apollonios. The text is divided into eight books. The journey to India is recorded in the second and third.

According to Philostratos, Apollonios first met with the king of Taxila, Phraotes, who spoke to him in Greek. The Indian king said that he had been brought up by his father in the Greek fashion till the age of twelve. He was then sent to the Brāhmaṇas who treated him as a son, because they especially loved people who knew and spoke Greek. They considered Greek-speaking people akin to themselves in mind and disposition. The description of the exemplary character and life of the king of Taxila might also be seen as Philostratos' attempt to propagate the realisation of the Platonic ideal of the philosopher-king. The Indian tradition has divided philosophers and kings into different castes. In the Upaniṣads and more—so in later literature, we often meet with learned and enlightened kings. The philosopher-king is best exemplified in India through the life and work of the enlightened king of Videha or Mithilā, Janaka.

Philostratos has only good words to say about Indian philosophers. He considers them superior to Ethiopians and nearer to the gods and the hot element (sun).[158] His views about Greek philosophy, however, are contradictory. In one instance,[159] he makes Phraotes praise the wisdom of Apollonios as better than his own but in another[160] he, like the Dandamis of Onesicritos, is very critical about the luxurious and sensual life of the fake Greek philosophers. He says that philosophy in Greece is much the same as piracy and that philosophers give themselves up to gluttony, debauchery and effeminacy. In India, however, practising philosophy is a high honour. The person who wishes to dedicate himself to the study of philosophy requires two pre-conditions: first, his father and mother and their progenitors for three generations must be without stain of reproach; second, the candidate himself must be of pure morals and of a retentive intellect.[161] The judgement of the character of the progenitors was ascertained from

witnesses and public records. As to the youth himself, they judged him worthy or otherwise from his eyes, eyebrows, and cheeks, which were seen to act as a mirror reflecting his mind and character.

The king of Taxila is reported to have said that neither Alexander nor Ajax nor any other hero could capture the stronghold of the Brāhmaṇas (i.e., the land between Hyphasis and Ganges). For these sacred and divinely blessed men would have driven him back, not with human weapons but with thunder, lightening and tempests, as they had routed the Egyptian Hercules and Bacchos, who had stormed their fort with united arms. This might be seen as a direct reference to Brāhmaṇas, who did not use weapons but fought using the power of prayer. The practices of complete surrender to the will of god and non-violence were advocated by both Indian and Pythagorean philosophers.

In another section of the book, Philostratos describes Apollonios' journey to a community of Indian ascetics. On the way, Apollonios found the altars Alexander had built near the Hyphasis river. One of them contained the following inscription: "To Father Ammon and Brother Hercules, to the Providence Athena and Olympian Zeus and to Samothracian Kabeiroi and the Indian Sun[162] and to the Delphian Apollo."[163] In the same place there was a bronze pillar on which it was written, "Here Alexander Halted."[164] Philostratos conjectures that this pillar was erected by the Indians out of joy for Alexander's return homeward.

Finally, Apollonios arrived at the place where the Indian ascetics were living. Their chief named Iarchas questioned him, "Do you think us wiser than you?" The answer he received was, "I think your views wiser and more divine and should I find that you know no more than I, this at least I shall have learned that I have nothing more to learn."[165]

About soul, Iarchas explained that they held the same views as Pythagoras and that the Indians first imparted this knowledge to the Egyptians.[166] He also went on to say that in his previous life he had been Ganges, an Indian king, and that Apollonios was a captain of an Egyptian ship, something that Apollonios had accepted as truth. Apollonios related that Iarchas said to him, "But surely, to be the pilot of an Egyptian ship is no such ignoble occupation and pilot I see you once were." "True," replied Apollonios. No philosophical explanations about the doctrines of karma or evolution were given.

During those days, an (anonymous) Indian king visited the community of the Indian ascetics and debated about the importance of philosophy with Apollonios. The Indian king considered all philosophical enquiries as worthless pursuits and insisted that since he was not a philosopher he possessed all virtue and was one with the Sun. Apollonios replied that he would not have thought thus if he had a philosophical mind and that he himself was a

good man, so long as he was a philosopher.

The clearest and most comprehensive Indian idea, found in Philostratos' book, is Iarchas' statement that he regarded Apollonios and his inseparable companion, Damis, as gods because they were good people. Eusebios[167] criticised this statement as lacking in respect for the deity, but this criticism is unjustifiable. Iarcha's statement is not an expression of arrogance but a result of the belief that the individual soul (puruṣa, jīva) is a part of God.[168] This account corresponds to the well-known Upaniṣadic instruction, prevalent in India even today, which advises men to treat their guests as gods (atithi deva bhava).[169]

Iarchas' observation that Indian philosophers, unlike Greeks, do not busy themselves with the philosophy of numbers[170] is correct, but such a comparison could be made only by a person who knew details of the Pythagorean philosophy.

Iarchas also spoke about ether, the fifth element which was already mentioned by Megasthenes. The Indian ascetic, however, does not seem to be aware of the Upaniṣadic belief that ether (ākāśa) is the first material principle (pratiṣṭhā) from which the other elements arise successively one after the other.[171] He simply stated that the gods breathe ether in a similar way as humans breathe air and that all elements were created simultaneously.[172] He also said that the universe is both male and female and is occupied with a passion that gives it harmony. Iarchas' cosmological ideas presenting the universe as controlled not only by one but by many intelligences (nous) and its comparison with a ship controlled by the pilot God and many other officers who are minor deities[173] are in agreement with the Pythagorean religio-philosophical ideas describing harmony and order in the cosmos.[174] These distinctive ideas about ether and gods make us sceptical in accepting David Karnos' attempt to identify Iarchas' philosophical community as a Jain community.[175]

There are many references in early Greek literature that indicate the authenticity of the historical character of Apollonios. He was mentioned by Lucian (second century AD) and Apuleius (second century AD) who compared him with Zoroaster. Dion Cassius said that Emperor Karakallas (AD 11–17) erected a monument for him. The Neopythagoreans Porphyrios and Iamblichos described Apollonios as an authority on Pythagorean philosophy, but Eusebios, Photios and other Christian scholars have doubted the description of Philostratos. Woodcock[176] has found no reason to doubt the historical character of Apollonios and his journey to Taxila (AD 44). He said the archaeological discoveries at the ancient site of Taxila are in agreement with the description of the city given in Philostratos' book. McCrindle[177] seems to have accepted Apollonios' journey but he considered the whole work of Philostratos as a romance, "which surrounds as in

a dense haze the real character and performances of its hero." R.C. Majumdar[178] found Philostratos' geographical description of India to be lacking correspondence to truth. It is quite possible, he said, that Apollonios did not really visit India, but that Damis collected tales and some facts from books written about India by merchants.

Apart from the Indians' surprising familiarity with details of the *Iliad*, Greek history and philosophy[179] and a few Pythagorean ideas presented as Indian ideas there is hardly anything in the work of Philostratos that has not been reported by previous writers. Moreover, the description of strange beings (such as a woman black from her head to her breasts, white from her breasts downwards; hill dragons; worms with an inextinguishable oil; winged griffins; a one horned-ass, etc.) and the exhibition of supernatural capacities by Indian sages offer us doubtful points of contact with Indian models.

From Philostratos' book, we might conclude that in the third century AD certain basic Indian concepts and customs became superficially known in the Graeco-Roman world. Philostratos probably recognised their affinities with the teachings of the Pythagoreans and incorporated them in the story of Apollonios in order to show that the wise Indians shared similar ideas with the Neopythagoreans.

OTHER TRAVELLERS

The fascinating explorer's tale of Scythianos, a Saracen born in Palestine, is another valuable source of information about the religious interaction between the Hellenistic Near East and the India of the early centuries of the Christian era. The story tells us that Scythianos traded with India and during his visits acquired a knowledge of Indian philosophy. Settling afterwards in Alexandria, he made himself conversant with the lore of Egypt. With the help of his disciple Terebinthos, he encapsulated in four books the peculiar doctrines which are said to have formed the basis of the Manichaeans. Terebinthos, however, surpassed his teacher. He proclaimed himself learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, and gave out that his name was no longer Terebinthos, but that he was a new Buddha; such was the name he then assumed. He also said that he was born of a virgin, and had been brought up in the mountains by an angel.[180]

A few centuries later during the reign of Constantine, Metrodoros, a Persian by birth, joined by his friend Meropios of Tyre and his companions Frumentios and Aedisios journeyed to India to study the science and philosophy of the Hindus. He led a strict ascetic life and won the respect and reverence of the Brāhmaṇas. He constructed water-mills and bathing tanks for them, previously unknown in the country. Kedrenos[181] (a Greek

monk of the eleventh century) said this man known for his piety, was admitted into the most sacred recesses of their temples, and stole their precious stones and pearls. Also, he had received presents from the Indian king to carry to the emperor but he gave them to him as if they were his own. Rufinus[182] (fourth century AD) however, simply said that Metrodoros penetrated into India for the purpose of seeing its various cities and making himself well acquainted with the world at large.

In like manner, Hierocles (fifth century AD), a Neoplatonist philosopher, thought it worthwhile to go and visit the Brāhmaṇa caste and to reveal to us his experiences. He said that the Brāhmaṇas are especially devoted to the sun and abstain from eating meat. He also described their peculiar clothes made of the soft and skin-like (δερματώδη) fibres of stones which they weave into a stuff that no fire can burn nor water wet. About India and the Indians he met he said:

> Then I came to a country very dry and burnt up by the sun. And all about this desert I saw men naked and houseless, and of these some shaded their faces with their feet raised in the air. Of these Strabo has a notice. He also describes people with no-heads and ten-heads and four-hands, and feet-men, but none of them did I ever see.[183]

The enumeration of the early Greek and Hellenistic scholars who wrote about India would be incomplete if we did not mention the Alexandrian geographer, Cosmas, who became known as Indicopleustes because he navigated the Indian Ocean. As a merchant he crossed the Red Sea, explored the eastern coast of Africa from Ethiopia to the Equator and, following the Arabian coast, reached India and Ceylon (Taprobane) in the first half of the sixth century AD. He finally withdrew to a Christian monastery on Mount Sinai, where he wrote of his experiences in twelve books known as *Christian Topography*.

In the eleventh book he described in detail the various animals and plants of Ethiopia, India and Ceylon. Many of them, however, were unknown to the Greeks and he had to use his imagination to create new compound words (e.g. Taurelaphos or Ox-deer, Agriobous or Wild-ox, etc.) and to draw sketches. Cosmas provided important information, as he mentioned the short-cut overland route from Tzinitza (China) to Persia; major Indian trade centres lying on the West coast, such as Sindhus, Orrhotha, Kalliāna, Sibor, and Male, which had five markets (Patri, Mangarouth, Salopatana, Nalopatana, and Poudopatana) that exported pepper; the presence of white Huns in North India; and the circulation of Roman and Persian coins in Ceylon. He also mentioned an island in the Indian sea, where the people were speaking Greek. This gives further ground to the possible existence of Greek colonies in South India. The statement concerning Greeks reads as follows:

> In the island again called Dioskorides [present-day Socotra, Sk. Dvipa-sukhādhāra] which is situated in the same Indian sea and where the inhabitants speak Greek, having been originally colonists sent thither by the Ptolemies who succeeded Alexander the Macedonian, there are clergy who receive their ordination in Persia and are sent on to the island, and there is a multitude of Christians. I sailed along the coast of this island, but did not land upon it. I met, however, with some of its Greek-speaking people who had come over into Ethiopia.[184]

In the third book, Cosmas mentioned the early Christian communities in South India and Ceylon:

> In Taprobane there is a church of Christians with clergy and a body of believers, but I know not whether there be any Christians in the parts beyond it. In the country called Male, where pepper grows, there is also a church, and at another place, called Kalliāna, there is, moreover, a bishop who is appointed from Persia.

Further details about the existing church on the island of Taprobane are given in the eleventh book. On the island, he said, there was a church of Persian Christians (probably a branch of the Nestorian Church) who had settled there. They had a presbyter appointed from Persia, a deacon and a complete ecclesiastical ritual. The natives and their kings were, however, heathens in terms of religion. On this island they had many temples, and in one, situated on a ridge, was a single hyacinth as big as a large pinecone with the colour of fire. It flashed from a distance, especially when sunbeams played around it—a matchless sight.[185] Some more details about Ceylon were given by pseudo-Kallisthenes, who was kept in captivity for six years there and during that time learned a good deal of the local language.[186]

SOME REFERENCES TO INDIAN RELIGIONS IN EARLY GREEK LITERATURE

By the early years of the Christian era Greek trade and shipping to the ports of India and Ceylon had increased enormously and small communities of Indian merchants and immigrants had established themselves in the cosmopolitan centres of Egypt and Syria. The discovery of a gravestone with a wheel and trident (triśūla) in Alexandria attests to the fact that the Indian immigrants brought their customs and religions with them.[187] With the increase of trade contacts, exaggerated and fabulous stories about India and Indian ascetics gained in popularity and the centre of eastern mysticism began to shift from Egypt to India. Indian gymnosophists were now added to the long list of Persian Chaldaeans and Egyptian magicians.[188]

Dion of Prusa (known as Chrysostomos) (*c*. AD 40–111) referred to the Brāhmaṇas who gave up the wonders and pleasures of India to trade in

foreign countries. "For I see in the midst of you (Alexandrians) not only Greeks, Italians, Syrians, Libyans, Cilicians, Ethiopians, Arabs, but even Bactrians and Scythians and Persians, and some Indians who view the spectacles with you and are with you on all occasions."[189] He also spoke favourably about the Brāhmaṇas (in India): "The Indians have the Brāhmaṇas who excel in self-control and righteousness and their love of the Divine Being, whence they have a better knowledge of the future than other men have of the present."[190] And praised the renunciation that they practised though they lived in the midst of worldly pleasures, "But though India is actually in the enjoyment of all these blessings, there are nevertheless men called Brahmanae, who, bidding adieu to the rivers and turning away from those with whom they had been thrown in contact, live apart, absorbed in philosophic contemplation, subjecting their bodies to suffering of astonishing severity, though no one compels them and submitting to terrible endurances."[191] The actual knowledge that Dion Chrysostomos had about India, however, was not better than that of Ctesias, for he spoke of rivers that flow with wine, honey and oil, and of the gold-digging ants.

Dionysos Periegetes described the Indians as people who lived a happy life; "Many are the men who possess this country and happy the lives they lead."[192] Aelian praised the Indians and other barbarians for they had strong faith in God and condemned the Greek atheists, Euhmeros, Diagoras and Epicuros.[193] He also commented upon the generosity of Indians towards animals.[194]

The first testified cases of the transmission of knowledge about Indian religions was also reported during this period. Clement of Alexandria mentioned for the first time the name of Buddha. He referred to the belief of the Brāhmaṇas in 'paligennesis,'[195] and sketched the dresses and disciplines of the Brāhmaṇa and Samaṇa philosophers.[196] Likewise, Pausanias[197] pointed out that he knew that the Chaldaeans and the Indian magicians have asserted that the soul of man is immortal.

More authentic information about the philosophies of India was acquired by the Gnostic teacher, Bardesanes,[198] who met with an Indian delegation on its way to the Roman emperor. The chief of this embassy, Dandamis or Sandanes, communicated information to him regarding Indian religious beliefs and practices which Bardesanes embodied in his book. The book of Bardesanes has been lost, but a passage of considerable length has been saved in the fourth book of the treatise *Abstinence from Animal Food* (*Περὶ Ἀποχῆς τῶν Ἐμψύχων*) written by Porphyrios.[199] Ioannis Stobaios[200] (*c.* fifth or sixth century AD) repeated the same passage and added that the Indian ambassadors said to Bardesanes that on a very high mountain in the middle of their country there is a large natural cave which contains a statue ten or twelve cubits high. The statue represents a standing deity with hands

folded crosswise. The right half of its face and body is male and the left half female. This description resembles the Indian deity Ardhanārīśvara and is one of the earliest references to the existence of its statue.

Śiva, in the form of Ardhanārīśvara, is depicted with his consort Pārvatī in a single human body. In the monistic philosophy of Kaśmīr Śaivism,[201] the deity represents the substantial identity of Śiva (consciousness, God) and Śakti (energy, matter, world). An early reference to the primordial unity of the two genders is to be found in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*.[202] The Hermaphroditic deity (Ardhanārīśvara) also has been described in various Purāṇas and other texts[203] but its earliest form appears on the coins of the Kuṣāṇa period.[204] From Kālidāsa onwards, references to Ardhanārīśvara in Indian literature become more and more frequent suggesting that this symbolism was gaining in popularity. Ardhanārīśvara images on sculptures have been found in the ruins of Chandrabhāga (Rajasthan) (*c.* sixth–seventh centuries AD), in the rock caves of Ellora and Elephanta (tenth century AD), and other places.

The Indians said to Bardesanes that the sun was engraved on the right breast of the statue and the moon on the left. Angels and whatever the world contains, (i.e., sky, mountains, sea, a river, ocean, as well as plants and animals) were engraved on the two arms. They said that on its head was the image of a god,[205] seated on a throne and that in great heat the statue ran all over with sweat, so copiously discharged that it would have moistened the ground at the base, had the Brāhmaṇas not used their fans to stop the flow. The Indians alleged that the deity had given this statue to his son when he founded the world as a visible representation of it. In Bardesanes' enquiries about the material of which the statue was made the Indians replied that no one could tell what the material was, for it was neither gold nor silver, brass nor stone, nor indeed any known substance. Although it was not wood it most closely resembled a very hard wood which was free from rot. They also told the story of a king who tried to pluck one of the hairs out of the statue, and how blood flowed out, whereupon the king was so struck with terror that, even with all the prayers of the Brāhmaṇas, he hardly recovered his senses.

Back at the end of the cave, far behind the statue, there was a door. Those who had lived without vice would pass through this door easily, where they would find a large fountain of crystal clear water of the sweetest taste. The wrong-doers, however, would have to struggle hard to push open the door, and would fail in their attempt, as it would close again against them. Thus, they were compelled to confess their offences against others, and to entreat the rest to pray for them. They also fasted for a considerable length of time to atone for their wrong doings.

The cave gathered a great number of pilgrims coming in summer and

autumn to see the statue and meet with friends as well as to try to pass through the door. At the same time, they studied the carvings on the statue and tried to interpret their meanings. It was not easy to attend to all the representation, as so much was depicted and some of the plants and animals were unknown anywhere in the country. Ioannis Stobaios quoted Apollonios of Tyana who, when writing to the Brāhmaṇas swore this oath, "No, by the water of Tantalus, you shall not initiate me into your mysteries." It seemed to him that Apollonios spoke of the same water, because it punishes with disappointment the hopes of many who come eagerly to it, and try to drink of it.[206]

THE MEETING OF RELIGIONS

Early in the Christian era several theologians and Fathers of the Church, such as Justin Martyr, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian and especially Origen expressed beliefs in support of the pre-existence of the soul.[207] They supported their theory by citing Christian and Hebrew scriptural texts,[208] but this does not imply that the Christian faith grew up in a vacuum. In the great commercial and cultural centres of Alexandria, Palestine, and Syria there was sufficient and fertile soil for encounters and influences between Hebrew, Egyptian, Zoroastrian, Babylonian, Greek, Indian and other esoteric traditions.[209] The New Christian faith combined Hebrew ethics, Greek philosophy, and Oriental mysticism.[210]

The Far Eastern influence is more evident in the Pagan and Christian Gnostic communities which flourished in the Hellenistic Near East. The Christian Gnostics denied the literal meaning of the scriptures and the historical character of Christ and saw only an esoteric meaning based on gnosis (γνώσις, a divinely inspired knowledge). Bassilides, a Gnostic theologian who lived in the first half of the second century AD, taught doctrines quite similar to those found in the Hindu and Buddhist philosophies, something that led Radhakrishnan and Kennedy to think that he was influenced by them.[211] Bassilides taught that there were three hundred and sixty-five heavens, each superior and less concrete than the one below,[212] and that the ultimate region, the absolute first principle and cause of all those below it, is altogether 'nothing' (non-Being). God is above space, time consciousness and even Being itself. He is to be worshipped in silence. He contains everything in Himself potentially, even as a grain of mustard seed contains the whole plant. The creation is the result of His will. Bassilides, like the Buddhists, believed that suffering is the fundamental principle of all existence and that human personality is a complex consisting of the five elements. He propagated the doctrine of rebirth and supported the view that birth is a result of our acts in former lives governed by an inflexible

necessity that leads our souls towards their final purification. Corpocrates[213] who taught that the process of rebirth is based on a mechanical law and that the soul is imprisoned in the body repeatedly until it has performed all possible actions was closer to the deterministic theory of the Ājīvakas.

In the early Christian communities Hellenic studies were considered suspicious but were not prohibited. Ecclesiastical writers such as Athenagoras of Athens (second century AD), Cyprian of Africa (third century AD), Hippolytos (third century AD), Saint Augustine and Arnobios of Africa (end of third century and beginning of fourth century AD), Theodoretos of Antioch (fifth century AD), and others composed treatises against paganism and criticised polytheism and idolatry, but no one could discredit the excellence of the intellectual giants of classical Greece.

Enlightened Orthodox Fathers, such as Vassilios of Caesarea (also known as Basil the Great), Ioannis (John) Chrysostomos, Gregorios of Nazianzus, Clement of Alexandria, and Gregorios Palamas, studied Plato and Aristotle and were inspired by them. Vassilios of Caesarea (*c.* AD 329–79) proudly declared that on his mother's side he was a descendant of the ancient Heraclidae. Gregorios of Nazianzus (*c.* AD 329–89), the bishop of Constantinople, followed ancient modes and wrote a Christian tragedy entitled, *Christ's Suffering*. The Christian forbearance (ἀνεξικακία) is best illustrated in the life of Ioannis Chrysostomos (AD 344–407), who extended his loving attitude towards all, Christians and Pagans alike. The legend says that he came back to life after his death only to forgive the Empress Eudoxia (Θεὸς συγχωρήσει Εὐδοξία) who had persecuted and exiled him. Likewise, the Archbishop of Thessaloniki, Eustathios[214] (twelfth century AD) studied Homer's *Odyssey* and *Iliad* which occupied an important place in his *Comments* (*Σχόλια*) but he also failed to reverse the course of events.

The influence of Neoplatonic ideas is most evident in the teachings of Origen (*c.* AD 185–253), a disciple of Pantainos, Clement, and Ammonios Sakkas. Origen was appointed as the principal of the Catechetical School of Alexandria (AD 203–31) at a very young age and taught dialectics, physics, mathematics, geometry, astronomy, philosophy, and theology. He travelled extensively to Rome, Greece, Arabia, Caesarea and Palestine. The greatest part of his writings were concentrated on the interpretation of the *New Testament* and for this reason he was called as the Founder of Biblical Studies.

Origen had good knowledge of the teachings of Plato and Aristotle and in the few preserved fragments of his *Stromateis* we find comparative studies between Greek and Christian doctrines. He authored the book *Contra Kelsum* (*Κατὰ Κέλσου*) to refute the teachings of the Neoplatonist Kelsos who in his *True Word* (*'Αληθὴς Λόγος*) had criticised Christian theology. Yet, the Neoplatonic influence on the formation of his ideas is beyond

doubt, especially on his doctrines ascribing the formless nature of God, the hierarchy in the Holy Trinity, and the pre-existence of the souls.

Origen spoke of the eternal existence of Christ and his beneficial operation towards all races in all times. "When God sent Jesus to the human race, it was not as though He had just awakened from a long sleep. Jesus has at all times been doing good to the human race. No noble deed amongst men has ever been done without the Divine Word visiting the souls of those who even for a brief space were able to receive its operations."[215]

He was the main Christian supporter of the Platonic belief in the pre-existence of the souls. He said that souls existed like spirits in another world but because they committed a sin they were differentiated into angels, human souls, and demons. He described human bodies as tunics made of leather (δερμάτινοι χειτώνες) which cover the souls.[216] It is not known if he spoke explicitly about the doctrine of transmigration but from his dogma of the final restoration of all (αποκατάσταση τῶν πάντων) it becomes evident that he probably believed that through a series of incarnations all souls finally would be purified from sin and they would regain their lost status of original purity. While the teachings of Origen found many supporters and followers, they were also met with animosity. His enemies caused severe conflicts (origenistikes erides), which continued until the beginning of the fifth century.[217]

In the year AD 543, a degree issued by Emperor Justinian A' (AD 527–65) and signed by all the Patriarchs and the Pope condemned Origen (who was dead) and excommunicated him from the Church. A few monks in Palestine, however, continued to follow his teachings. Ten years later, Justinian asked the Fifth Ecumenical Council (also called the Second Council of Constantinople) to condemn Origen and his followers who became known as 'isochristoi,' because they believed in the equality of the pure souls with Christ. The Council (without the signature of the Pope) in its eighth session approved the orders of the Emperor. The name of Origen was included in the eleventh list of the cursed (anathematised) heretics. The doctrine of transmigration was damned as being in absolute contradiction to the Orthodox Christian belief in the undivided psycho-physical nature of man as well as against the belief in the resurrection of the dead at the fulfilment of time through the Last Judgement. Thus, the belief in the pre-existence of the souls, which found support by some of the most renowned Greek philosophers for more than a thousand years, was silenced.

As political conditions changed, Christianity, originally the religion of the poor and oppressed, gained the favour and patronage of the Byzantine emperors and gradually expanded to the Greek and Roman worlds. Emperor Justinian declared a general war against Greek religion and all oppositions. In 529, he ordered the closure of the Academy of Athens and

prohibited the study of philosophy (Μηδεὶς διδασκέτω ἐν Ἀθήναις φιλοσοφίαν). He also banned theatrical disguises, performances, and the worship of traditional gods. The last Greek philosophers fled to Persia. where they played a significant role in the preservation of the ancient Greek texts and the development of the philosophical and scientific life of Baghdad.[218] It is perhaps under such influences that the Arab philosopher Alberuni[219] said that the Sūfīs adopted their name and knowledge from the Greek 'wisdom' (σοφία) and were called 'the lovers of wisdom' (pailāsôpā, φιλόσοφοι). There are also reasons to believe that some of exiled Greeks followed the silk roads and settled even further away, in India and China. It was during this time that Cosmas Indicopleustes had informed us of the existence of Greek settlements in South India and Varāhamihira had praised the scientific achievements of the Yavanas.

Monasticism, another characteristic of the Christian religion, has often been compared with Indian asceticism. The origin of Christian monasticism is traced in the Hebrew and Christian scriptures.[220] It passes, however, through various stages in its evolution. The individual hermits (μοναχοί), who were seeking solitude and a contemplative life to save themselves by their own actions, began to organise themselves in Coenobia (κοινόβια) at first by living in 'lauras' or clusters of windowless cells around some common centre and later in the great monasteries of Mount Sinai. The book of Saint Athanasios (fourth century AD), *Life of Anthony* and the support given to monasticism by Basil the Great, Ioannis Chrysostomos, Jerome, Nilus, Ioannis of Klimakos, Gregorios of Nyssa, Dionysios Areopagites, Symeon the Neotheologian, Saint Benedict, Saint Augustine, and other eastern and western religious leaders set the standard of conduct of Christian monasticism. In Italy, Saint Benedict (*c.* AD 480–542) established the first Christian monastery at a place called Monte Casino. His aim was to provide safety to religious refugees but soon monasteries became well organised and wealthy institutions which did not encourage the individualistic approach of the hermits. However, this was not the case in Greece where life in the monastery was considered merely as a preparatory step that led to a life lived in solitude, and culminated in the most extreme stage, that of the naked hermit. On Mount Athos, the first monasteries were established at the end of the tenth century and Hesychastic ideals were introduced by Gregorios the Sinait in the fourteenth century.

An anthology of the sacred teachings of the Sinait monks dealing with the ascetic life, the Jesus Prayer, inner stillness and mystical union, was edited by Saint Macarios Notaras (1731–1805), Archbishop of Corinth, in collaboration with the Agiorite monk Saint Nicodemos Dionysiates (1748–1809). The book known as *Philokalia* [Love of (spiritual) Beauty][221] was published in Greek in Venice in 1782 with the financial assistance of the

prince of Moldovlachia, Ioannis Maurogordatos. Almost immediately, it was translated into Slavonic (Saint Petersburg, 1793) by an Ukrainian monk and mystic, named Paisios Velitsofsky and became the principal manual for mystical practices in the orthodox monasteries and even further beyond the boundaries of the Greek Orthodox world.[222]

In comparing the ascetic practices of the Hesychasts with those of the Indian yogis we observe that the Christian monks recite continuously (ἀδιάλειπτος προσευχή) the Jesus Prayer, "Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστὲ, Υἱὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐλέησόν με" ("Lord Jesus Christ, son of God, have mercy on me") or its short form, "Κύριε ἐλέησόν" ("Lord have mercy") according to the instruction of their spiritual Fathers. Similarly, the Indian yogis continuously repeat (ajapa-japa) various holy sentences or names of God (mantras), such as "So'ham" (I am That), "Śivo'ham" (I am Śiva), Oṁ, Rāma, namaḥ Śivāya, etc. according to the instruction of their spiritual teachers (gurus) and the tradition to which they belong. Both synchronise their prayers with respiration[223] and the turn of the rosary (κομποσχύνη, Sk. mālā)[224] and make use of other practices, such as fixing of the eyes upon a single point of the body [ὀμφαλός (naval); chitākāśa (third eye), anahad cakra (heart), etc.], fasting, celibacy, etc. The aim of these practices is to assist in concentrating the mind and in freeing the individual from desires for terrestrial things. Both believe that through such personal efforts and the grace of the Lord they will enter into a kind of divine rapture (ἔκστασις). The Christian will achieve a state of mental tranquillity (νοερά ἡσυχία) and perceive within his own heart the ineffable light seen by the Apostles on Mount Tabor during the Transfiguration while the yogi will attain a state of inner peace which is defined as the cessation[225] of all the modifications[226] of consciousness (citta).[227] In this state the meditator and the object of meditation are fused together (Asaṁprajñāta Samādhi). The goal of the Christian monk is to become like God (Θέωσις),[228] the yogi's goal is to attain 'Kaivalya,' the absolute isolation of Puruṣa (soul, pure consciousness) from the apparent bondage of Prakṛti (the root cause of the world), the source of all pleasures and sufferings.

Christian and Indian ascetics have followed similar external practices but there is an essential difference in regard to the role of God. For the yogis, God (Īśvara) is neither the creator of the universe nor the ethical judge who rewards and punishes the soul. He is a special kind of soul (Puruṣa), always free from pains, actions, effects, and impressions. His role as the first teacher (sa pūrveṣāmapi guruḥ) is emphasised but He can not grant liberation. However, Patañjali considers that devotion to God (Īśvara-praṇidhāna) is one among several other means that help man to attain concentration.[229] Contrary to the yogis who rely on human will power, the Christians preach absolute surrender to God, whose grace is the Alpha

and Omega of the entire spiritual life.

Devotion became the main theme of the theistic religions which were popular among the lower castes of India. But, it is very difficult to say that the Indian doctrine of complete surrender to a saviour God (prapatti) was due to Christian influence. Although the doctrine was taught in the region near Madras, where the presence of early Christian communities is a well established historical fact, these devotional trends are known to have existed in India before the Christian era. Nevertheless, certain influences seem to have taken place in post-Christian times. Hajime Nakamura[230] has shown that the parable of the prodigal son is similar to the *Lotus Sūtra* of Mahāyāna Buddhism (first or second century AD) and to the story found in sixth century Vedāntic literature. He has also pointed out the resemblances between the Buddhist tradition and the teachings of Asclepios, who as healer and saviour called all mankind to himself, and the deification of wisdom (σοφία, Sk. prajñāpāramitā) in both Greek and Buddhist traditions.[231]

Apart from ideological and practical similarities there is evidence for close historical contacts. The mission of Apostle Thomas to the court of Gondophernes (Gondophares) of Taxila (AD 21–46) is described in the *Acts of Saint Thomas*, an apocryphal work of the third century AD, attributed to Bardesanes of Edessa. According to the *Acts*, the Christian Apostle came to the city of the Indo-Parthian king Gondophernes and succeeded in converting the king and his brother Gad to Christianity. Later Saint Thomas went south to the city of the King Mazdai, where he was martyred.[232]

The flourishing Christian communities in the Near East supported several apostolic missions to the East while the monasteries of Mount Sinai provided spiritual guidance to the developing Christian communities in Persia and India. In AD 295 Bishop David left Basrah for India and in AD 450 the Indian Church was already linked with Seleusia-Ctesiphon. In the beginning of the sixth century Cosmas Indicopleustes described the Eastern Church in India, and the Frankish monk Theodore visited Mylapore in AD 590. In the second half of the eighth century Bishop Thomas of Syria landed in Kerala with Middle Eastern immigrants; from the beginning of the ninth century onwards the number of Christian immigrants and merchants increased enormously.[233] The *Philokalia*[234] records Saint Ioannis of Karpathos' instructions (λόγος παραμυθητικός) to the Christian monks in India. They are divided into a hundred chapters and contain teachings on patience against temptations.

At the same time certain stories and beliefs were shifted from India to the Hellenistic Near East. The Spanish Jewish mystic of the thirteenth century, Abulafia, on his return from a journey in the Near East, wrote religious works which recall certain intuitions that resemble those of the Indian yogis.[235] The mystics of Islam (Dervishes and Sūfis), who have shared

similar practices and beliefs, might also have had transmitted Indian ascetic ideals in the eastern Christian monasteries, especially in Cappadocia.[236]

The Christianised version of the legend of the renunciation of the Buddha found in the epic *Barlaam and Josaphat*, might be seen as having made an even more profound impact upon Greek literature. This work has been traditionally attributed to Saint Ioannis (John) of Damascos (d. *c*. AD 750) who might have taken it from India or from the Manichaeans.[237] The story describes the life of Josaphat, an Indian prince who was converted to the Christian faith. The prince had been born to a mighty Indian king named Abeneer who despised and persecuted the Christians. Soon after Josaphat's birth one astrologer had told his father that his son would renounce the world and he will be converted to Christianity. The king was determined to prevent this prophecy and placed his son in a magnificent palace where he thought he would live happily in the midst of worldly pleasures and would be sheltered from the ills of the world. However, the expectations of the king were not fulfilled. The prince soon had several internal questions and one day went out of the palace. There he encountered a leper, a blind man, an old man, and a corpse lying by the roadside. Thus, he came to realise that man's life is subject to disease, old age, and death. While the young prince was in this stage of deep dissatisfaction, Barlaam, a Christian monk disguised as a jewel merchant, approached him. He promised to show him a precious stone in his possession but finally succeeded in instructing him in the Christian dogmas and baptised him. Upon learning of this, Josaphat's father was deeply disturbed and tried to lure his son back by offering him half of his kingdom but all his efforts were in vain. Finally Josaphat converted his father to Christianity and he left for the forest where he spent the rest of his life as an ascetic.

Though the names of the heroes and the religion differ we can not fail to recognise that the story of Barlaam and Josaphat was copied from the accounts of Buddha's life which were already recorded in the *Vinaya* and *Sutta Piṭaka*, the *Buddhavaṁsa*, the *Nidānakathā Jātaka*, and the Pāli commentaries.[238] Buddha's biography tells us that eight Brāhmaṇas said that the newly born Gotama (also known as Siddhārtha) would be either a universal monarch or a Buddha but the youngest of them, named Koṇḍañña, made the prophecy that he will definitely be a Buddha. Gotama's father Suddhodana, who was the chief ruler of Kapilavatthu, built three palaces with the hope that his son would contentedly live in a great luxury. He also gave him a wife and took every precaution so that he would not become an ascetic. However, at the age of twenty-nine, Gotama went out of the palace and saw a man of extreme age, a sick man, a corpse, and an ascetic who praised renunciation. These incidents created in Gotama's heart a strong

desire for meditation and led him to renunciation. Several years later when Gotama attained Nirvāṇa, he returned to his home town and met his father who, through his son's influence, accepted the spiritual path and became a Buddhist sage (Sakadāgāmi).

Both stories point out the misery of the world and praise renunciation as the path towards salvation. Josaphat's conversion and Buddha's attainment of enlightenment (Nirvāṇa) through personal effort virtually represent the difference between the theistic Christian and atheistic Buddhist thought. Buddhists also have emphasised the fact that a Bodhisattva always renounces the world after having a child. We may conclude that the Indian practices were variously modulated to fit the traditional Christian faith and practices.[239]

The cultural and ideological contacts between the two peoples enriched their spiritual heritage and played a significant part in their intellectual development. The parallel search for philosophical truth and understanding made a diffusion of ideas possible. The significance of the meeting of the two worlds reaches far beyond their own time and countries. The vast gap that divided East and West for millennia was bridged and the world took yet another notable turn in its vast and intricate destiny.

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2. See Nicolas Yalouris, "Alexander the Great in More Recent Times," *Alexander the Great: History and Legend in Art*, pp. 24–31; Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, "The Story of Alexander the Great and the Poison-Damsel of India: A Trace of it in Firdousi's Shāh Nāmeh," *JBBRAS*, vol. III, (Bombay, 1928), pp. 212–30.
3. Yalouris, "Alexander the Great in More Recent Times," op. cit., p. 25.
4. It was only later, after the Mohammedan invasions, that Indian Muslims were deeply influenced by Persian poetry and became familiar with the name of Alexander, which; as a symbol of worldly power, was often contrasted with the poverty of the mystics of Islam. The Indian poet Altaf Husain Hali (1837–1914) wrote about the injustice of God: "You have favoured many who were destitute, and made beggars wealthy./You have given power to those who were incapable, and made ship's captains kings./You granted the glory of the rulers of Iran to Alexander, and on Columbus you bestowed the New World." *Hali's Mussadas—The Flow and Ebb of Islam*, tr. by Christopher Shackle and Javed Majeed, (Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1997), p. 20. Likewise, the renowned poet Mirza Asadullah Khan Ghalib (1797–1869) wrote: "That which Sikandar (Alexander), for all his kingship, vainly sought, I, for all my wretchedness found." And, "The man who wins such bliss can only wonder/ What more had Jamshed?/What more Alexander?" And again, "I have not read the stories of Sikandar and Dara (Darius). The tales of love and loyalty are all my stock-in trade." *Ghalib, Life and Letters*, tr. and ed. by Rulph Russell and Khurshidul Islam, (Oxford Univer-

sity Press, Delhi, 1994, 1969), pp. 76, 142, 255. The Ghazal poet Mohammad Iqbal (1879–1938) re-echoed: "My poverty (stricken life) is superior to the (imperial) ways of Alexander. Mine is (the job of) 'building man,' he is simply (involved in) making the mirror." And, "That mendicant is better far than Darius or Alexander, whose mendicancy smells of grace divine." Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *The Life and Time of Shaikh Nizamuddin Aulia*, (Idarah-i Ababiyat-i Dilli, Delhi, 1991), p. 5; K.C. Kanda, *Urdu Ghazal*, (Sterling Publishers, New Delhi, 1992), p. 237. In the beginning of the eighteenth century, a newspaper bearing the name *Aina-i Sikandar* (*The Mirror of Alexander*) was published in Delhi by Siraj-ud-Din. The title was derived from the Persian legend, according to which Alexander fixed a colossal mirror in Alexandria in which he could see all—that was happening in Europe and so be forewarned of anything that was being plotted there against him. (See *Ghalib, Life and Letters*, p. 60.) More recently, in 1940 Prithviraj Kapur acted in the role of Alexander in the magnificent film, "Sikandar," produced by Sohrab Modi. This was followed by the "Sikandar-e-Azam" and since then, the name 'Sikandar' has been used as synonymous with 'hero'. It has appeared in the titles of several recent romantic films, but without any connection whatever to the Macedonian king. Ελένη Αμπατζή, Μανουήλ Τασούλας, *Ινδοπρεπών Αποκάλυψη*, (Ατραπός, Αθήνα, 1998), σελ. 31, 120.

5. Arrian, VII, 1. A more radical criticism was presented by the Chinese scholar, Mo-Tzu, who equated the invasion of Alexander with that of the Pirates: "Because I do it with a little ship, I am called a robber; and you, because you do it with a great fleet, are called an emperor." Cf. Frederic Copleston, *A History of Philosophy*, (Image Books, New York, 1962, first edition, 1946), vol. II, part I, p. 102.
6. Plutarch, *Life of Alexander*, LXIV.
7. Arrian, VII, 2, 3–9.
8. Plutarch, *Life of Alexander*, LXII, LXVIII et seq.
9. Plutarch (ibid., LXV) says that Calanos' real name was Sphines, but the Greeks called him Calanos because he used to greet with the word 'kale'(καλέ,? Sk. 'kalyanam'), which is the Indian form of salutation.
10. Plutarch, ibid., LXIX. (Tr. by J. Langhorne and W. Langhorne.) See also, Arrian, VII, 2, 3; Strabo, XV, 1, 64; Aelian, *Varia Historia*, V, 6.
11. Megasthenes, frs. XLV, LIV, LV. Megasthenes said that Calanos was induced to do so because he had very little power over his senses, but Plutarch (LXV) and Strabo (XV, 1) recorded that he was persuaded to follow Alexander by Taxiles.
12. Megasthenes, fr. LV. (*Pallad de Bragmanidus*, pp. 8, 20 et seq.)
13. "ζῶν ἐν ἅδου οὐδέπω παρῆλθεν." Latin version "non zonam Gadem transiit." The Greeks were quite familiar with this idea from the legendary 'descents' of Hercules, Theseus, Orpheus, and other bold heroes. The title "κατάβασις εἰς Ἅιδου" (descent into Hades) was given to a number of poems. Cf. Guthrie, *The Greeks and Their Gods*, p. 231, n. 2.
14. Megasthenes, fr. LV, B. (Ambrosios, *De Moribus Brachmanorum*, p. 68.) Probably he refers to the central fire which is not to be identified with the Sun. According to the Pythagorean planetary system, the earth is no longer in the middle of the universe but a revolving sphere like the other planets. In the centre of the world there is the central fire known by a number of mythological names, such as the "heart of the world," the "house" or "watch-tower" of Zeus and "the mother of the gods." According to Empedocles, the sun shines by reflecting light from the central fire. Around this fire revolves the Antichthon or counter-earth, the earth, the moon, the sun, the planets and the heaven of fixed stars. We do not see the central fire and the Antichthon because the side of the earth on which we live is always turned away from them. See Burnet, op. cit., pp. 238, 296–98.

15. Strabo, XV book.
16. "νόμον πρὸ τῆς φύσεως τιθεμένους." Strabo, XV, 1, 65. Compare and contrast with the ethical dualism of the Stoics, according to which nature (φύσις) is identical with reason (λόγος) while passion (πάθος) is unnatural and unreasonable.
17. Strabo, XV, 1,61.
18. *Sāmaññaphala Sutta*, 205–11; *Brahmajāla Sutta*, 21–27. Included in 'Mahā Sīla' or Major Morality. (BITS, XII.)
19. Strabo, XV, 1, 64.
20. Ibid., XV, 1,61.
21. "Their philosophers, whom they call Gymnosophists, continue standing from sunrise to sunset, gazing at the sun without winking and standing the whole day on burning sands on one foot and then on the other." *Nat. Hist.*, VII, 2.
22. "These sophists spend their time naked, during the winter in the open air and sunshine but in summer, when the sun is strong, in meadows and low lying lands under large trees," *Indica*, XI, 7.
23. Plutarch, *Life of Alexander*, LIX and LXIV.
24. Cf. *Jābala Upaniṣad*, 6, where the ascetic is advised to live naked as he was born; and *Paramahaṁsa Upaniṣad*, 2, 4, that requires space to be the clothing of the Paramahaṁsas.
25. This story was recorded and circulated once again by the Bishop of Caesarea Eusebios (third century AD) in his *Praeparatio Evangelika*, (XI, 3), a collection of facts and quotations from ancient writers. Diogenes Laertios (II, 45) speaks of a Magus from Syria who met Socrates and predicted that he would meet a violent death.
26. "Πάντα γιγνώσκομεν, ἐπειδὴ πρώτους ἑαυτοὺς γιγνώσκομεν, οὐ γὰρ ἂν προσέλθοι τις ἡμῶν τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ ταύτῃ μὴ πρῶτον εἰδὼς ἑαυτόν." *Vita Apollonii*, III, 18.
27. Clement, *Stromateis*, III, 194.
28. For a collection of references; see *GI*, p. 90; Arora, *Greeks on India*, pp. 177–185.
29. A detailed account of the Hellenistic influence on architecture, sculpture, painting, coinage, astronomy, mathematics, medicine, art of writing, literature, drama, religion, philosophy, mythology, fables and folklore of India is found in G.N. Bunerjee, *Hellenism in Ancient India*, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, New Delhi, third revised edition, 1961(1919, 1920). See also, Nalinee M. Chapekar, *Ancient India & Greece—A Study of their Cultural Contacts*, (Ajanta Publ., Delhi, 1977); Arora, *Greeks on India*; Rai Govind Chandra, *Indo-Greek Jewellery*, Abhinav, Delhi, 1979; D.P. Singhal, *India and World Civilisation*, Pan Macmillan, London, 1972, reprint, Rupa & Co., Calcutta, 1993; Sarojini Chaturvedi, *Foreign Influx and Interaction with Indian Culture*, Agam Kala Prakashan, Delhi, 1985. For comparisons between Greek and Indian medicine, see J. Filliozat, *The Classical Doctrine of Indian Medicine: Its Origins and its Greek Parallels*, translated from the French by Dev Raj Chanana, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, New Delhi, 1964; Kenneth Zysk, *Medicine in the Veda: Religious Healing in the Veda*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1996.
30. Megasthenes, fr. XLI. (Strabo, XV, 1, 58.)
31. "δύο γένη φιλοσόφων, ὧν τοὺς μὲν βραχμᾶνας καλεῖ (Megasthenes), τοὺς δὲ Σαρμᾶνας." Megasthenes, fr. XLI. (Strabo, XV, I, 59.)
32. Probably he refers to the forest schools as the places where the children of the Brāhmaṇas were spending the first part of their lives (Brahmacarya āśrama) under the guidance of learned teachers (Gurukul tradition).
33. The literal meaning of the Indian 'ākāśa' (ā + kaś = shining forth, illuminated space) corresponds to the Greek view. Ether was widely regarded in Greece as the divine and brilliant fiery stuff which filled the shining Ouranos (the sky above the clouds that surrounds the world). It was sometimes identified with the cosmic fire out of

which the stars and the souls were produced. The first Greek reference to Ether was made by Homer: "(ἐλάτη) δι' ἠέρος αἰθέρ' ἵκανεν" ("The fir-tree reached through the air to the ether"), *Iliad*, XIV, 288. Hesiod (*Theogony*, 123–25) said that Erebos and black Night came into being out of Chaos; and from Night, again, came Ether and Day, whom she conceived and bore after mingling in love with Erebos. In *Orphic Rhapsodies*, Chronos produced Ether and Chaos, out of which a silvery egg was produced. The Greek philosophers spoke about Ether, but they did not include it among the elements because they thought it existed beyond this world.

34. Megasthenes, fr. XLI. (Strabo, XV, I, 59.)
35. "ἅπαντα μέντοι τὰ περὶ φύσεως εἰρημένα παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις λέγεται καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἔξω τῆς Ἑλλάδος φιλοσοφοῦσι, τὰ μὲν παρ' Ἰνδοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν Βραχμάνων, τὰ δὲ ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ ὑπὸ τῶν καλουμένων Ἰουδαίων". Megasthenes. fr. XLII. (Clement, *Stromateis*, I, 15, 22–26.)
36. The term 'Hylobioi' means 'the forest (ὕλη) dwellers' (Vānaprasthins, in the Brāhmanic tradition). Clement's 'ἀλλόβιοι' might not be wrong for it is an alternative term meaning 'those who live in another (ἄλλο) place' or 'those who follow another style of life.'
37. Megasthenes, fr. XLI, (Strabo, XV, I, 60), fr. XLII, (Clement, *Stromateis*, I).
38. "The Egyptians are divided into seven distinct classes. These are: the priests, the warriors, the cowherds, the swineherds, the tradesmen, the interpreters, and the boatmen. Their titles indicate their occupation." Herodotos, II, 164.
39. Megasthenes, frs. I and XXXIII; Strabo, XV, I, 39. Cf. "The philosophers are exempted from all public duties." Diodoros, II, 40.
40. "μοῦνόν σφισιν ἀνεῖται σοφιστὴν ἐκ παντὸς γένεος γενέσθαι, ὅτι οὐ μαλθακὰ τοῖσι σοφιστῇσιν εἰσι τὰ πρήγματα ἀλλὰ πάντων ταλαιπωρότατα." Arrian, *Indica*, XII, 9.
41. *Indica*, XI, 1.
42. "Megasthenes über die indische Gesellschaft," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 88 (1934), p. 137, as quoted by Harry Falk, "The Seven 'Castes' of Megasthenes," *GI*, pp. 48–56.
43. The division into four castes is first mentioned in the famous Puruṣa-sūkta, (*Ṛgveda*, X, 90). See also, *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, I, 4, 11–13.
44. *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, I, 6, 13. Cf. Jain. op. cit., pp. 108–10; and SBE, XLV, p. 289, n. 1.
45. *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*, II, 15, 16.
46. *Sāmaññaphala Sutta*, 168. (BITS, XII.)
47. See Ashok Kumar Srivastava, *India as Described by the Arab Travellers*, (Sahitya Sansar Prakashan, Buxipur, Gorakhpur, 1967), pp. 9–13.
48. *Si-Yu-Ki*, Book II, 2. (*Buddhist Records of the Western World*, p. 82.)
49. Megasthenes, fr. XXVI, (Arrian, *Indica*, 10). See also, Megasthenes, fr. I, (Diodoros, II, 39). Onesicritos (Strabo, XV, I, 34) noticed the absence of slavery only among the Mousikanos. But Strabo (XV, 1, 62) mentioned that in Taxila those who, due to poverty were unable to give their daughters in marriage, sold them in the market when they were of a very young age. See also, Philostratos, *Vita Apollonii*, III, 31, where the anonymous Indian king who visited Iarchas and Apollonios, said that he possessed twenty thousand slaves. The fact that during this period in India, male (dāsas) and female (dāsīs) slaves of all castes were bought and sought by wealthy and even ordinary people is also testified in Jain, Buddhist, and Dharmaśāstra literature. See Jain, op. cit., pp. 246–49.
50. A similar observation that Indian laws were not committed to writing is found in the writings of Nearchos, Strabo and the Chinese pilgrims Fa-hian and Hiuen Tsiang of the fifth and seventh century of our era respectively. Aelian explained that the Indians did not write or make contracts for two reasons, firstly because they did not lend or

borrow, and secondly because they were neither the perpetrators nor the victims of injustices. "Ἰνδοὶ οὔτε δανείζουσιν οὔτε ἴσασι δανείζεσθαι. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ θέμις ἄνδρα Ἰνδὸν οὔτε ἀδικῆσαι οὔτε ἀδικηθῆναι. διὸ οὐδὲ ποιοῦνται συγγραφὴν ἢ παρακαταθήκην." *Varia Historia*, IV, 9–12.

51. Megasthenes, fr. XXVII. (Nikolaos Damaskinos, 44, and Strobaios, *Serm.*, 42.)
52. Megasthenes, fr. XLIV. (Strabo, XV, 1, 68.)
53. Megasthenes, fr. XXVII. (Strabo, XV, 1, 55.)
54. Strabo, XV, 1, 66.
55. XV, 1, 30.
56. Strabo, XV, 1, 62.
57. Cf. Diodoros, XIX, 33.
58. XIX, 34.
59. The first Indian references to the custom of satī occur in the Purāṇas (written after the fifth century AD), but the Greek descriptions leave no doubt that it had been practised in India many centuries earlier. In spite of the passionate appeals of Rāja Rāma Mohan Roy and several ineffective orders issued by the British authorities the custom of satī continued to be practised in India until the middle of the nineteenth century. The rite was abolished on the fourth of December 1829, when Lord William Bentinck, Governor-General, approved Government regulation no. XVII and the custom of satī was declared 'illegal and punishable' by the criminal courts. See P.N. Chopra, B.N. Puri and M.N. Das, *A Social, Cultural and Economic History of India*, [Macmillan, Madras, 1994 (1974)], vol. III, pp. 126–29. The sacrificial meaning of this custom was that the devoted wife considered her life without her Lord (husband) meaningless, and as it was believed that souls met after death, she preferred to accompany him into the world of spirits. In most cases drugs were given to eliminate the pain.
60. XV, 1, 30.
61. *The Greeks in India*, (Faber & Faber, London, 1966), p. 17.
62. In Greek, Sandrokottos, Sandrakottas, Sandrakottos, Androkottos, and the nearest to the Indian, Sandrokuptos. *AIDMA*, p. 43 n.
63. Strabo, II, 1, 10, 19; XV, 1, 12; Athenaeos, IX, p. 394.
64. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, VI, 17 (21).
65. Strabo, XV, 1, 51.
66. The *Bṛhátkalpabhāṣya* (III, 4214) and *Āvaśyaka Tīkā* (p. 399) refer to a shop called 'Kuttiyāvaṇa' where everything living or non-living was available. It is said that there were nine such shops in Ujjenī during the reign of Caṇḍapajjoya. See Jain, op. cit., pp. 194–95.
67. *DPPN*, II, p. 699.
68. This is the first inscription in the Greek language and script discovered in India. The Greek text consists of thirteen and one-half lines and the Aramaic, which is a paraphrase of the Greek text, covers seven and one-half lines. The paucity of Greek inscriptions might be due to a possible destruction of Greek temples and monuments by later invaders and the fact that archaeology in these areas is still in its infancy.
69. Carlo Gallavotti, "The Greek Version of the Kandhahar Bilingual Inscription of Aśoka," *EW*, vol. X, no. 3, Sept. 1959, pp. 185–89. The first short announcement of the discovery was made by the editor of the journal, Umberto Scerrato, "An Inscription of Aśoka Discovered in Afghanistan: The bilingual Greek-Aramaic of Kandhahar," *EW*, vol. IX, nos. 1–2 (March-June, 58), pp. 4–6. See also, Franz Altheim and Ruth Stiehl, "The Greek-Aramaic Bilingual Inscription of Kandahār and its Philological Importance," *EW*, vol. X, no. 4, (Dec. 1959), pp. 243ff.
70. See Amulyachandra Sen, *Aśoka's Edicts*, (Institute of Indology, Indian Publicity Society, Calcutta, 1956), p. 66.

71. "Nathi cā se janapade yatā nathi ime nikāyā—ānatā Yonesubaṁhmane cā, samane cā," (Kalsī version), ibid., p. 98. The inscription in Prākṛta language written in Kharoṣṭhī script was found at Shāhbāzgarhī near Peshawar (in present-day Pakistan). Also "Nasti ca se janapade ya(tra) nasti ime nikaya a[ñatra] Yoneṣu (bramaṇe ca śrama)," (Mānshehrā Version); and "[ya](ta) [na]st ime nikāyā añatra Yone[su]" (Girnār Version). See Alfred C. Woolner, *Aśoka Text and Glossary*; (reprint, Low Price Publications, Delhi, 1993), p. 264.
72. "devanaṁpiyasā" is an epithet used by Aśoka.
73. "Εἰσὶ δὲ τῶν Ἰνδῶν οἱ τοῖς Βούττα πειθόμενοι παραγγέλμασιν, ὃν δι' ὑπερβολὴν σεμνότητος ὡς θεὸν τετιμήκασι." Clement, *Stromateis*, I, 15, 5.
74. *Stromateis*, III, 194.
75. A stūpa is a bell-shaped pile of earth, erected over the ashes of a Buddhist saint (Arahant), or on spots consecrated as scenes of his acts. It mainly symbolises the Buddhist doctrine of impermanence.
76. *Contr. Jovin.*, Epis. pt. I, tr. 2, 26.
77. "Mahārakkhitathero pi Yonakalokaṁ pasādayi kālakārāmasuttanta—kathāya ca mahiddhiko." (The Thera Mahārakkhita who possessed great magical powers, converted the Yona region by preaching the Kālakārāma Suttanta) *Dīpavaṁsa*, 8, 9, translated by Herman Oldenberg. I have translated, however, the "Yonakalokaṁ" as Yona region. See also, "The wise Mahārakkhita went to the country of the Yona delivered in the midst of the people the Kālakārāma Suttanta. A hundred and seventy thousand living beings attained the reward of the path (of salvation); ten thousand received the pabbajjā (ordination or entering in the Buddha's order)." *Mahāvaṁsa*, XII, 39–40, translated from Pāli to German by Wilhelm Geiger and from German to English by M.H. Bode.
78. *Mahāvaṁsa*, XII, 5; *Dīpavaṁsa*, VII, 58; VIII, 9.
79. *DPPN*, vol. II, p. 698.
80. "Yonakadhammarakkhitathero nāma mahāmati aggikkhandopama—suttakathāya Aparantakaṁ pasādayi," ("The wise Thera called Yonaka Dhammarakkhita converted the Aparantaka country by preaching the Aggikkhandopama Sutta"), *Dīpavaṁsa*, VIII, 7, translated by Hermann Oldenberg. See also, "The Thera Dhammarakkhita the Yona, being gone to Aparantaka (Sk. Aparānta 'the Western Edge,' comprising the territory of northern Gujarat, Kathiawar, Kachch and Sind. Fleet, *JRAS*, 1910, p. 427) and having preached in the midst of the people the Aggikkhandopama Sutta (the discourse on the parable of the flames of fire), gave to drink of the nectar of truth to thirty-seven thousand living beings who had come together there, he who perfectly understood truth and untruth. A thousand men and yet more women went forth from noble families and received the pabbajjā," *Mahāvaṁsa*, XII, 34–36, translated by Wilhelm Geiger and M.H. Bode. See also, *Mahāvaṁsa*, XII, 4.
81. Alasandā is generally identified with the Alexandria founded by King Alexander in Paropamisadae near Kabul. See Arrian, III, 28; IV, 22.
82. *Mahāvaṁsa*, XXIX, 39; *Dīpavaṁsa*, XIX, 6.
83. "Yaṁ nammadāya nadiyā puline ca tīre,
Yaṁ saccabhadda girike sumanā ca lagge,
Yaṁ tatta yonaka pure muninoca pādaṁ,
Taṁ pāda lāñcanamahaṁ sirasā namāmi."
84. *DPPN*, vol. II, p. 699.
85. Topics discussed concerned individuality, renunciation, intelligence and wisdom, good conduct, faith, perseverance, mindfulness (suti), identity, salvation, suicide, rebirth, karma, time, causation, the first beginnings, becoming, formation of qualities, the soul, sensation and ideas, perception, conditions, purgatory, Nirvāṇa, Buddha and

Buddhas, body, passion, memory, sorrow and peace. Other topics included such things as snoring, the ideal teacher, gifts and honours, trees, thinking powers, the lives of various kings and outstanding Buddhist personages, meditation, the abolition of regulations, esoteric teachings, fear of death, dharma, schism of the cult, preaching, foolishness, kindness and punishment, dismissal, falsehood, love, women, omniscience, various dilemmas in solving social problems and explanations of the life and character of Buddha, problems of inference, voluntary extra vows, and similes of Arahantship.

86. *Milindapañha*, VII, 7, 21, translated by T.W. Rhys Davids, *The Questions of King Milinda*, SBE, vol. XXXV.
87. See A.N. Lahiri, *Corpus of Indo-Greek Coins*, (Poddar Publ., Calcutta, 1965), Plate XXVI, 7; A.K. Srivastava, *Indo-Greek Coins in the State Museum Lucknow*, (The State Museum Catalogue Series, 1969), fig. 30.
88. Cf. Savita Sharma, *Early Indian Symbols—Numismatic Evidence*, (Agam Kala Prakashan, Delhi, 1990), pp. 44–59.
89. Aetios, II, 20, 1; 21, 1; 24, 2.
90. "οἱ δὲ τροχοῦ δίκην περιδινεῖσθαι τὸν κόσμον." Aetios, II, 2, 4.
91. "Μενάνδρου δε τινὸς ἐπιεικῶς βασιλεύσαντος καὶ ἀποθανόντος ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου, τὴν μὲν ἄλλην κηδείαν ἐποιήσαντο κατὰ τὸ κοινὸν αἱ πόλεις περὶ δὲ τῶν λειψάνων αὐτοῦ καταστάντες εἰς ἀγῶνα, μόλις συνέβησαν, ὥστε νειμάμενοι μέρος ἴσον τῆς τέφρας ἀπελθεῖν καὶ γενέσθαι μνημεῖα παρὰ πᾶσι τοῦ ἀνδρός." *De Republicae Gerendae Praecepta*, p. 821
92. The author of this text informs us that after the body of Buddha had been cremated, a dispute was raised by the representatives of eight different states (viz., Ajātaśattu of Magadha, Licchavī of Veśālī, the Sākyas of Kapilavatthu, the Buli of Allakappa, the Koliya of Rāmagāma, the Brāhmaṇa of Veṭṭhadīpa, the Malla of Pāvā, and the Malla of Kusinārā), all of whom considered themselves worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Blessed One. Originally the Malla of Kusinārā refused the others' claims by saying, "The Blessed One died in our village domain, therefore, we will not give away any part of the remains of the Blessed One." Finally the dispute was resolved by coming to an agreement that they should divide the remains of Buddha into eight equal parts and that each one would erect a mound (thūpa) over the remains of the Blessed One in his country, so that mankind could trust in the Enlightened One. *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta*, 236–240 (BITS, XII), (SBE, VI, 49–63).
93. Ibid., 230. (BITS, XII.)
94. The original version of *Milindapañha*, which might have been written in Sanskrit or in Prākṛta in northern India, has been lost. It was preserved in Ceylon, where it had been translated into Pāli. From its Pāli form it has been translated into Sinhalese, and is called the *Saddharmādāsaya*, written in the eighteenth century by a monk named Sumangala; it contains a few additions. The text occupies a unique position, second in importance only to the *Tipiṭaka*. From Ceylon it was transferred, in its Pāli form, to Burma and Siam and in these countries it is also highly reputed. See T.W. Rhys Davids, SBE, XXXV, p. xi. Cf. *DPPN*, vol. II, p. 637.
95. Cf. *Sāmaññaphala Sutta*, 165–81. (BITS, XII.)
96. *Milindapañha*, I, 1–14, SBE, XXXV, p. 8.
97. For example, "There is, in the country of the Yonakas, a great centre of trade, a city that is called Sāgala, situated in a delightful country, abounding in parks and gardens and groves and lakes and tanks, a paradise of rivers and mountains and woods," (translated by T.W. Rhys Davids). Sāgala (also Sāgalā), the city in which King Milinda met Nāgasena, has been identified with Sialkot in Recha Doad. But the fact that Sialkot had not produced Menander's coins led Whitehead and other scholars to think that this city was 'a cold-weather station' and that the metropolis was in the Kabul Valley,

probably at Kāpiśī. [Whitehead, NC, 1950, p. 212, quoted by A.K. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks*, (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1957), p. 172.] In various Jātakas, Sāgala is mentioned as the capital of the Madda kings. It was evidently called Sākala. Cf. *DPPN*, vol. II, p. 1089.

98. Heinrich Zimmer, *Philosophies of India*, (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1951), p. 505. Quoted also by Woodcock, op. cit., p. 114.
99. Lahiri, op. cit., p. 41, pl. II, 10.
100. Cf. R.C. Sharma, *Buddhist Art—Mathura School*, (Wiley Eastern, Delhi, 1995), pp. 141ff.
101. Contrast with the Jain view, "As a mleccha repeats what an Ārya has said, but does not understand the meaning, merely repeating his words, so the ignorant, though pretending to possess knowledge, do not know the truth, just as an uninstructed mleccha." *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, I, 1, 2, 15–16, (SBE, vol. XLV).
102. "tasmān na janam iyāt nāntam iyāt, net pāpmānaṁ mṛtyum anvayāyānīti." *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, 1, III, 10. See also, the Jain *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* (II, 3, 1, 8), where a monk or a nun on a pilgrimage is advised not to utilise roads belonging to barbarian people.
103. Cf. "Let no Brāhmaṇa speak barbarous language, since such is the speech of the Asuras." *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, III, 2, 1, 24; "Let him not learn a language spoken by barbarians." *Vasiṣṭha Dharmaśāstra*, VI, 41; "A Shātaka should not speak to a barbarian." *Viṣṇu Smṛti*, LXXI, 59; "Talking to a Cāṇḍāla or to a mleccha defiles." *Viṣṇu Smṛti*, XXII, 77; "He must not converse (after having bath), with barbarians, low-caste persons, or outcastes." *Viṣṇu Smṛti*, LXIV, 15, (SBE, vol. VII).
104. From Manu onwards, the right to study the Veda was extended to the three highest castes while still excluding the fourth, the Śūdras. Cf. *Manu Smṛti*, I, 87–91.
105. Line 1: Ṭimitra-dāṭrisya[sa]-ho[tā]-
Line 2: P[o]tā-maṁtra-sajana [? i]
ASI, *Annual Report* (1914–15), pp. 77, 83, pl. LII token no. 18.
106. Ibid., p. 78.
107. See *infra*, chapter 3.
108. Among other discoveries that bear testimony to a Greek presence in Vidiṣā is a mould of steatite stone for casting medals, with the engraving of the Caduceus of Hermes on the obverse and a face, such as we find on the Indo-Greek coins on the reverse. See *ASI*, *Annual Report*, (1914–15), p. 83, pl. LV, nos. 34 & 34 a.
109. Op. cit., p. 44.
110. 5, LXXXI, 17–22.
111. Śānti Parva, LXV, 17–21.
112. For description of the different kinds of sacrifices, see *Manu Smṛti*, II, 143.
113. Cf. R.B. Whitehead, *Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum*, vol. 1, Indo-Greek Coins, (Published for the Punjab Government, Lahore, reprint, Indic Academy, Varanasi, 1971), p. 26, pl. III.
114. The same type occurs without the mountain in a coin of Antialcidas. Cf. *CHI*, p. 534, pl. II, VII; *British Museum Catalogue*, p. 25, no. 5. Zeus without emblems is also depicted on a coin of Maues. Cf. *CHI*, p. 534.
115. See Osmund Bopearachchi, "Elephant-Headed Gaṇeśa or Zeus-Mithra?" *Yavanika* (Indian Society for Greek and Roman Studies, Rohilkhand University, Bareilly), no. 2, (1992), pp. 97–120, pl. 37, fig. 2.
116. Recorded by the Alexandrian philosopher Eratosthenes (275–194 BC). See Strabo, XV, 1, 49; Pseudo-Kallisthenes, III. Cf. W.W. Tarn, *Alexander the Great*, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1946), pp. 399-449, esp. 440. Compare with the Buddhist verses: "A man does not become a Brāhmaṇa by his matted hair, by his family,

or by birth; in whom there is truth and righteousness, he is blessed, he is a Brāhmaṇa." *Dhammapada*, XXVI, 393; "Not by birth does one become an outcaste (vasala), not by birth does one become a Brāhmaṇa, by deeds one becomes an outcaste, by deeds one becomes a Brāhmaṇa." *Sutta Nipāta*, Vasalasutta, 27.

117. See Franz Altheim and Ruth Stiehl, "Alexander the Great and the Avesta," *EW*, vol. VIII, no. 2, July 1957, pp. 123–35, esp. pp.124 and 125.

118. For the religious contacts between Greeks and Orientals, see M. Cary, *A History of the Greek World*, [Methuen, Co. Ltd., London, 1951 (1932)], vol. III, pp. 363–74.

119. "'Ανδρῶν τοι, σοφὰ ταῦτα παλαιοτέρων ἀνάκειται ῥήματα, ἀριγνώτων Πυθοῖ ἐν ἠγαθέῃ. Ἔνθεν ταῦτα Κλέαρχος ἐπιφραδέως ἀναγράψας εἵσατο τηλαυγῆ Κινέου ἐν τεμένει: Παῖς ὤν, κόσμιος γίνου, Ἡβῶν, ἐγκρατής, Μέσος, δίκαιος, Πρεσβύτης, εὔβουλος, Τελευτῶν, ἄλυπος." See Μάριος Βερέττας, *Η Ινδία των Ελλήνων*, (Γεωργιάδης, Αθήνα, 1996), pp. 187–88. Cf. C. Rapin, *Les Textes Litteraires Grecs de la Tresorie d'Ai Khanum*, Ecole Francaise d' Athenes, Athenes, 1987. Paul Bernard, ("An Ancient Greek City in Central Asia," *Scientific American*, vol. 246, no. 1, Jan. 1982, p. 133) mentions only the last four lines of the maxim and suggests that the missing part presumably displayed all the other maxims from Delphi.

120. See Bernard, "An Ancient Greek City in Central Asia," op. cit., pp. 126–35.

121. "Σώζεται δὲ καὶ ἔτι νῦν τῆς 'Αλεξάνδρου στρατιᾶς σημεῖα περὶ τοὺς τόπους, ἱερά τε ἀρχαῖα καὶ θεμέλιοι παρεμβολῶν καὶ φρέατα μέγιστα." *Periplus*, 41. *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* was written in the last quarter of the first century AD by an unknown Greek merchant who had settled at Berenike, an important seaport on the Red Sea (Gr. Erythraea). In this book, the author records for the benefit of other Greek merchants, the knowledge he had acquired from observations and enquiries regarding the navigation and commerce of East Africa as far as Azania, Arabia and ports lying on the western shores of India. Biblio.: L. Casson, *The Periplus Maris Erythraei*, Princeton, 1989; *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, translated from the Greek by Wilfred H. Schoff, Longmans Green & Co. Ltd., New York, 1912, reprint Oriental Books Reprint Corporation, New Delhi, 1974; and McCrindle, *Ancient India as Described by the Commerce and Navigation of the Erythraean Sea*, reprint, Eastern Book House, Patna, 1987.

122. II,20.

123. See Bunerjee, op. cit., pp. 36–55; IGPC, p. 5. For the archaeological excavations in the royal cemetery 'Tilia Tepe,' see *infra*, chapter 5.

124. Anamika Roy, "On the Identification of a Yavana Artist," *Yavanika*, no. 4, (1994), p. 95, references are from V.S. Agrawala, *Introduction to Angavijja*, Prakrit Text Society, Varanasi, 1969.

125. Cf. Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems*, (reprint, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1987), p. 218. Jaraśasta (or Jaraśabda), from whom all the Magas sprang, according to the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*, is identical with the Avesta prophet, Zarathustra. Ibid., p. 219.

126. Plutarch, *Life of Alexander*, tr. by J. Langhorne and W. Langhorne, op. cit., p. 750.

127. See Lahiri, op. cit., pp. 39–41; Saifur Rahman Dar, "Greek, Kharoshti and Brahmi Legends on the Greek Coins of the Bactrian and Indus Greek Kings," Appendix A in Ahmad Hasan Dani, *Bactrian and Indus Greeks—A Romantic Story from their Coins*, (Lahore Museum, Lahore, 1991), pp. 29–52.

128. Cf. Lahiri, op. cit., pp. 27–35; Saifür Rahman Dar, "Deities on Bactrian and Indus Greek Coins," Appendix B in Dani, op. cit., pp. 55–79; Sharma, *Early Indian Symbols—Numismatic Evidence*, Appendix 1 (B).

129. "Μέχρι νῦν ἐν Βαρυγάζοις παλαιαὶ προχωροῦσι δραχμαί, γράμμασιν 'Ελληνικοῖς ἐγκεχαραγμέναι ἐπίσημα τῶν μετ' 'Αλέξανδρου βεβασιλευκότων 'Απολλοδότου καὶ

Μενάνδρου." *Periplus*, 47.

130. "ὁπότε καὶ παρ' Ἰνδοῖς φασιν ᾄδεσθαι τὴν Ὁμήρου ποίησιν, μεταβαλόντων αὐτὴν εἰς τὴν σφετέραν διάλεκτόν τε καὶ φωνήν." *Oration*, LIII, 554-55.

131. "'Ἀλεξάνδρου τὴν 'Ασίαν ἐξημεροῦντος Ὅμηρος ἦν ἀνάγνωσμα, καὶ Περσῶν καὶ Σουσιανῶν καὶ Γεδρωσίων παῖδες τὰς Εὐριπίδου καὶ Σοφοκλέως τραγῳδίας ᾖδον." *De fortuna Alexandri, mor.*, 328d. See also, Crasus, 32 where it is said that the Parthian King Orodes I had Euripides' *Bacchae* acted before him after the battle of Corrhae against the Romans in 53 BC.

132. "Ὅτι Ἰνδοὶ τῇ παρά σφισιν ἐπιχωρίῳ φωνῇ τὰ Ὁμήρου μεταγράψαντες ᾄδουσιν οὐ μόνοι ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ Περσῶν βασιλεῖς, εἴ τι χρὴ πιστεύειν τοῖς ὑπὲρ τούτων ἱστοροῦσιν." *Vat. Hist.*, XII, 48.

133. 'Pandion' according to Strabo (XV, I, 4), but 'Poros' according to other writers.

134. *Vita Apollonii*, II, 27; III, 12, 16.

135. For the few preserved verses of the play *Agen*, see Brono Snell, *Scenes from Greek Drama*, University of California Press, Los Angeles, 1967. Cited with extensive details in M.L. Varadpande, *History of Indian Theatre*, (Abhinav Publications, Delhi, 1987), pp. 210ff.

136. The reply he received was that figs and wine were being sent but the Greek laws would not permit the selling of a sophist. "Ἰσχάδας μὲν καὶ γλυκὺν ἀποστέλομέν σοι, σοφιστὴν δ' ἐν Ἕλλησιν οὐ νόμιμον πωλεῖσθαι," Athenaeos, XIV, 652 ff. (*Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, edited by Carolus Mullerus, vol. IV, p. 421.)

137. Cf. "for the argument that we do not know that Greek plays were acted in India is worthless. There were Greek poleis and a polis of any pretensions without theatre is unthinkable. ... . On a fragment of a vase found near Peshawar and now in the Punjab Museum at Lahore is a scene from the *Antigone* where Haemon begs Creon for Antigone's life and as the vase was of local manufacture it proves at the least that somebody in Gandhāra was interested in Sophocles and there is therefore no reason to doubt a knowledge of Euripides at Puṣkalāvatī or any other important Greek centre." W.W. Tarn, *The Greeks in India and Bactria*, (Cambridge, 1951, reprint, Munshiram Mahoharlal Publishers, New Delhi, 1980), p. 382.

138. The celebrated Alexandrian poet, Constantinos Kavafes, in the turn of the last century, reminds us once again of this achievement, ". . . και την Κοινήν Ελληνική Λαλιά ως μέσα στην Βακτριανή την πήγαμεν, ως τους Ινδούς." (". . . and we took the Greek vernacular deep into Bactria, as far as the Indians.") *Στά 200 π.χ.* (*At 200* BC)

139. J.D.M. Derpett, "Homer in India: The Birth of the Buddha," *JRAS of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1992, vol. II, part I, p. 57.

140. "Metamorphosis in Myth," *IGCP*, pp. 48–52.

141. Arora, *Motifs in Indian Mythology—their Greek and other Parallels*, pp. 77–165.

142. See Wendy Doniger, "Sita and Helen, Ahalya and Alcmena: A Comparative Study," *History of Religions*, University of Chicago Press, vol. 37, no. 1, August 1997.

143. Cf. Kashinath Trimak Telang, *Was Rāmāyaṇa Copied from Homer?*, Publishers Parlour, Delhi, 1976 (1873).

144. Burnet, op. cit., p. 18.

145. S.C. Vidyabhushana, "Influence of Aristotle on the Development of the Syllogism in Indian Logic," *JRAS*, LV–LVI, 1918, pp. 469–88. In this paper Vidyabhusana examines the historical development of the four distinct subjects of Nyāya philosophy, viz., (1) the art of debate (tarka), (2) the means of valid knowledge (pramāṇa), (3) the doctrine of syllogism (avayana), and (4) the examination of contemporaneous philosophical doctrines (anya-mata-parīkṣā) and observes that while the first two are known in ancient Indian scriptures, the third does not appear to have been known in India much before the Christian era and the fourth was propounded in the second century

AD. On the other hand, he says, the doctrine of syllogism was carried to great perfection in Greece by Aristotle (384–322 BC). He also compares Aristotle's logic with its counterparts found in *Caraka-Saṁhitā* (AD 78), Akṣapāda (*c.* AD 150), Nāgārjuna (*c.* second century AD), Maitreya (AD 400), Vasubandhu (*c.* AD 450), Diṅnāga (*c.* AD 500), Dharmakīrti (seventh century AD), and Uddyotakara (seventh century AD). See also, Narayan Champawat, "Self Realisation Ethics: Vedānta and Aristotle," *East-West Encounters in Philosophy and Religion*, edited by Ninian Smart and B. Srinivasa Murthy, (reprint, Popular Prakashan, Mumbai, 1996), pp. 176–81, where the author describes Aristotle's Nicomachean ethics as the best version of eudaemonism and finds close parallels with Vedānta's ethics.

146. For example, Mihira (Miiro) corresponding to the Vedic Mitra and Greek Helios, Mao (moon), Oado (wind), Orlagno (the Iranian deity of arms), Mazdah (Zoroastrian deity) and Ardoksho (counterpart of Indian Lakṣmī and Greek Demeter).
147. Śiva (Oesho) and Buddha (Boddo) or Śākyamuni Buddha (Sakamano Boddo).
148. Lahiri, op. cit., p. 40.
149. For references, see *IGCP*, pp. 18–19.
150. See V.A. Smith, "Graeco-Roman Influence on the Civilisation of Ancient India," *JRAS*, LVIII, 1889, part 1, pp. 140–56; Sharma, *Buddhist Art—Mathura School*, p. 125.
151. See A.L. Srivastava, "Kinnara-Kinnarī in Indian Art and their Allied Problems," *GI*, pp. 14–25. In comparing Greek centaurs with the Indian kinnara or kiṁpuruṣas, the author concludes that there is a considerable difference. In Indian mythology, they are considered semi-divine beings proficient in music, while in Greek, they are offspring of Ixion, king of Lapithae. Indian art makes representatings of both the horse-headed human figure and the human-headed horses in couples, but Greek art exclusively portrays the former without its spouse.
152. See A.M. Shastri, "Yavanas in the Western Indian Cave Inscriptions," *Yavanika*, no. 3, (1993), pp. 58–66.
153. Discovered in 1957 by Bombaci and Scerrato, members of the Italian Archaeological Mission in Jagatu (Gagatū) in Afghanistan. See Helmut Humbach, "Two Inscriptions in Graeco-Bactrian Cursive Script from Afghanistan," *EW*, vol. XVII, nos. 1–2 (March–June 1967), pp. 11, 25–26. The second inscription is incomplete and no precise meaning can be drawn.
154. Cf. with the use of the Greek script on the coins and inscriptions of Kuṣāṇas and other nomads of Bactria as well as on a well preserved inscription found at Surkh Kotal (Afghanistan). Cf. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, XXIII (1960), pp. 47–55; *Journal Asiatique*, 1958, pp. 345–440.
155. "ὄντος δὲ φιλέλληνος τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ παιδείας ἀντεχομένου." Diodoros, II, 60, 3. G.M. Bongard-Levin, [*Mauryan India*, (Sterling Publishers, New Delhi, 1985), p. 78], suggested that the Indian king could have been Candragupta, but as Diodoros neither mentions the date of Iambulos' journey nor the name of the king, we can not draw definite conclusions. It is quite possible that the author derived his information about India from the book of Megasthenes.
156. *Ecl. Proph.*, 56. Quoted in *Cambridge Ancient History*, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1939), p. 479.
157. Lucian, *Toxaris*, 34.
158. *Vita Apollonii*, VI, 11.
159. Ibid., II, 27.
160. Ibid., II, 29.
161. Ibid., II, 30.
162. The worship of Sun (Sūrya) in India has been well-known since the Vedic times. See

Shanti Lal Nagar, *Surya and Sun Cult*, Aryan Books International, Delhi, 1995. Among Greeks, it was first noticed by Ctesias and followed by Nearchos who said that he had cast his anchor near a promontory which the people of the place considered sacred to the Sun. Cf. R.C. Majumdar, *The Classical Accounts of India*, (Firma KLM, Calcutta, 1981), p. 322. Megasthenes did not give any special emphasis to the subject but mentioned a tribe known as Surae (probably 'Sauri' in Sanskrit, 'Sun worshipper') who lived along the River Indus. Cf. Megasthenes, fr. LVI.

163. "ΠΑΤΡΙ ΑΜΜΩΝΙ ΚΑΙ ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙ ΑΔΕΛΦΩΙ ΚΑΙ ΑΘΗΝΑΙ ΠΡΟΝΟΙΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΙ ΟΛΥΜΠΙΩΙ ΚΑΙ ΣΑΜΟΘΡΑΙΞΙ ΚΑΒΕΙΡΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΙΝΔΩΙ ΗΛΙΩΙ ΚΑΙ ΔΕΛΦΩΙ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ." *Vita Apollonii*, II, 43.
164. "ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΕΝΤΑΥΘΑ ΕΣΤΗ." *Vita Apollonii*, II, 43.
165. Ibid., III, 16.
166. "ὡς γε Πυθαγόρας μὲν ὑμῖν, ἡμεῖς δὲ Αἰγυπτίοις παρεδώκαμεν." Ibid., III, 19.
167. *On Apollonios*, XX.
168. See, for example, "An eternal portion of Mine own Self, transformed in the world of life into a living spirit." *Bhagavad Gītā*, XV, 7; "The Lord dwells in the hearts of all beings, O Arjuna!" Ibid., XVIII, 61.
169. *Taittirīya Upaniṣad*, I, 11, 2.
170. *Vita Apollonii*, III, 30.
171. Cf. "From this Self (ātma), verily ether (ākāśa) arose; from ether air; from air fire; from fire water; from water the earth; from the earth herbs; from herbs food; from food the person." *Taittirīya Upaniṣad*, II, 1, 1. See also, *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, I, 9, 1; VII, 12, 1–2. In Jainism, ether is not held to be a material element (pudgala) but as identical with the infinite space. In early Buddhism, the Vaibhāṣikas conceive space as something positively real, but the Sautrāntikas and Theravādas argue that it is nothing but the mere absence of resistant matter. In the philosophy of Sāṅkhya ether is the first gross element (mahābhūta) which arises from the essence of sound (śabdatanmātrā). In the pluralistic and realistic philosophical school of Vaiśeṣika ether, like time and space, is one (eka), eternal (nitya) and all-pervading (vibhu) substance (dravya). It might be compared with the eternal and ageless infinite (ἄπειρον) of Anaximander. The Greek scholar spoke of the eternal motion inherent in the boundless body which brought about the origin of the worlds, but unlike Indians, he did not consider the primordial principle as the substratum of sound.
172. *Vita Apollonii*, III, 34.
173. Ibid., III, 35.
174. The metaphor of a ship is implicitly found in a brief fragment (DK, B 12; cp. A 17) of the Pythagorean Philolaos which describes the four elements (viz., Fire, Water, Earth, and Air) in the Sphere and the vehicle (ὁλκάς = hull of the ship) of the Sphere as the fifth (element). But, Freeman has found it difficult to accept Diels' interpretation. See Kathleen Freeman, *The Pre-Socratic Philosophers*, (Oxford, 1946), p. 231, n. 1.
175. Karnos ["On Apollonius, Pythagoras and the Jaina Vision," *Ionian Philosophy*, (International Association for Greek Philosophy, Athens, 1989), p. 213] has rightly noted that several doctrines and customs, such as reincarnation, vegetarianism, non-violence, etc., were commonly shared by Pythagoreans and the Jains. But he wrongly thinks that (in India) only the Jains claimed that consciousness continued and went on forever in one body after another.
176. Op. cit., p. 130.
177. *AIDCL*, p. 195.
178. Op. cit. p. 412.
179. *Vita Apollonii*, III, 19, 22.
180. Archelaos, *et Manetis Disputatio*, 1, 97. (*AIDCL*, p. 185.)

181. *Synopsis of History*, I, pp. 516–17. (*AIDCL*, p. 186.)
182. *Hist. Eccles.*, I, 9.
183. Tzetzes, VII, *Hist.*, 144–716; Stephanos Byzantios, s.v. Brachmanes. (*AIDCL*, p. 186.)
184. Cosmas Indicopleustes, III, p. 169. (*AIDCL*, p. 160.)
185. Cosmas Indicopleustes, XI, p. 8.
186. See Pseudo-Kallisthenes, III, 7, in *AIDCL*.
187. Cf. Petrie, *JRAS*, 1898, p. 875. Quoted in William Tarn and G. T. Griffith, *Hellenistic Civilisation*, [Edward Arnold Publ., London, 1952 (1927)], p. 243.
188. See Origen, *Contra Celsum*, I, 24, where it is said that the Indian Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas enjoy the same status with the Egyptian sages and the learned Magi of Persia.
189. Dion Chrysostomos, *Oration*, XXXII, 373.
190. Ibid., XLIX, 583.
191. Ibid., XXXV, 434.
192. Mullerus, *Geographica Graeci Minores*, vol. II, p. 173.
193. *Varia Historia*, II, 31.
194. *Natura Animalum*, XIII, 25.
195. *Stromateis*, III, 7.
196. See *infra*, "Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas," appendix 3.
197. *Description of Greece*, Bk. 4 (Messenia), XXXII, 4.
198. Whether Bardesanes, whom Porphyrios calls Babylonian, was the same as Bardesanes of Edessa (a city in northern Mesopotamia), who wrote in Syrian about Marcion and other heretics and a famous book on fate, is still a matter of dispute. See *AIDCL*, p. 167.
199. Book IV, 16–18. For details on the practices of the Indian sages given by Bardesanes, see *infra*, "Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas," appendix 3.
200. *AIDCL*, p. 168.
201. See Kamalakar Mishra, *Kashmir Śaivism—The Central Philosophy of Tantrism*, (Rudra Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1993), p. 23. For myths and rites of the bisexual figure in classical antiquity, see Marie Delcourt, *Hermaphrodite*, (Presses Univarsitaires, Paris, 1956, translated from French by Jennifer Nicholson, Studio Books de France, London, 1961.
202. "He became as large as a woman and a man in close embrace. He caused that self to fall into two parts. From that arose husband and wife." *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, I, 4, 3. Cf. with the myth of the hermaphrodite being of Aristophanes in Plato, *Symposium*, 189 D et seq. The story was probably inspired by the bisexual deity, Phanes (Eros), the creator of our universe in the Orphic cosmogony.
203. See Shanti Lal Nagar, *Śiva in Art, Literature and Thought*, (Indus Publishing Company, New Delhi, 1994), p. 184.
204. Cf. Arvind K. Singh, *Coins of the Great Kushans*, (Parimal Publications, Delhi, 1996), p. 15.
205. Probably they refer to the goddess Gaṅgā, who is often depicted on the head of Śiva in Indian iconography. The Hindus believe that She was born from Lord's head much the same way as the Goddess Athena was born from the head of Zeus.
206. See also, Dion Chrysostomos, *Oration*, XXXV, 434, where it is said that the Brāhmaṇas possess the remarkable 'fountain of truth,' the best and most holy of all. Once tasting its 'waters,' one's 'thirst' for them can never be quenched; one can never get one's fill.
207. For a complete collection of the Hebrew (i.e. *Old Testament*, Kabala, Essenes and Pharisees) and Christian (i.e. *New Testament*, *Apocrypha* and Church Fathers) fragments dealing with the doctrine of reincarnation, see *Reincarnation in World Thought*, edited by Joseph Head and S.L. Cranston, (Julian Press, New York, 1967), pp. 83 ff.

208. For example, "καὶ εἰ θέλετε δέξασθαι, αὐτός ἐστιν Ἠλίας ὁ μέλλων ἔρχεσθαι." ("and if you are willing to accept the idea, he is himself Elias who was to come"), Matthew, xi, 14; "ῥαββί, τίς ἥμαρτεν, οὗτος ἢ οἱ γονεῖς αὐτοῦ, ἵνα τυφλὸς γεννηθῇ;" ("Master, for whose sin was this man born blind? For his own, or for that of his parents?") John, ix, 2; "ἐγὼ δὲ ἔζων χωρὶς νόμου ποτέ· ἐλθούσης δὲ τῆς ἐντολῆς ἡ ἁμαρτία ἀνέζησεν, ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπέθανον." ("I was once alive and without law, but when the command came, sin awoke and then I died."), *Romans*, vii, 9, 10.
209. See Firoze C. Davar, *Socrates and Christ*, Gujarat University, Ahmedabad, 1972; Rev. Alexander Hislop, *The Two Babylons or the Papal Worship Proved to be the Worship of Nimrod and his Wife*, Loizeaux Brothers, Neptune, New Jersey, 1959 (1916); V.W. Deshpande, *The Impact of Ancient Indian Thought on Christianity*, APH Publishing Corporation, Delhi, 1996; Holger Kersten, *Jesus Lived in India—His Unknown Life Before and After the Crucifixion*, Element Book, Dorset, 1986 (Munich. 1983); *Between Jerusalem and Benares: Comparative Studies in Judaism and Hinduism*, edited by Hananya Goodman, reprint, Sri Satguru Publications, Delhi, 1977.
210. Cf. The Christian doctrine "arose in a world full of warring sects and rival faiths, and used whatever was at hand. Palestine gave morality and monotheism, Greece art and philosophy, Rome order and organisation, and the East mysticism and a gift for worship." S. Radhakrishnan, *Eastern Religion and Western Thought*, [Oxford Univ. Press, Oxford, 1982 (1939)], p. 343.
211. See ibid., pp. 203–5. References are from J. Kennedy, "Buddhist Gnosticism," *JRAS*, (1902), pp. 383–412.
212. Hippolytos, *Refut.*, VII, 20. (*Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. XII, p. 473.)
213. Irenaeos, I, xxv. (Radhakrishnan, *Eastern Religion and Western Thought*, p. 204, n. 3.)
214. Cf. Εὐάγγελος Σχόρδας, "Εὐστάθιος Θεσσαλονίκης," *Πειραϊκὴ Ἐκκλησία*, 68 (Ἰανουάριος 1997), σ. 19.
215. *Contra Kelsum*, VI, 78. Similar views were shared by Saint Augustine, (*Epis. Retract.*, bk. 1), who spoke of the eternal religion that has existed since the beginning of the human race but began to be called Christianity after the manifestation of Christ in the flesh. Cf. Radhakrishnan, *Eastern Religions and Western Thought*, p. 343.
216. Compare with, "As a man, casting off worn-out garments, takes new ones, so the dweller in the body, casting off worn-out bodies, enters into others that are new." *Bhagavad Gītā*, II, 22.
217. See Δημήτριος Τσάμης, *Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Γραμματολογία*, (Ἐκδ. Π. Πουρναρᾶ, Θεσσαλονίκη, 1983), Τομ. Α, σσ. 35–39; Ιωάννης Αναστασίου, *Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἱστορία*, (Ἐκδ. Παρατηρητής, Θεσσαλονίκη, 2η εκδ. 1983), Τομ. Α, σσ. 366–69.
218. Cf. Bernard Lewis, *Islam and the West*, Oxford Univ. Press, Oxford, 1993, pp. 8, 34.
219. *Alberuni's India*, vol. I, p. 33.
220. See Herbert B. Workman, *The Evolution of the Monastic Ideal*, Beacon Paperback, Boston, 1962, (London, 1913); *The Oxford History of Christianity*, edited by John McManners, Oxford, 1993.
221. The complete Greek title is *Φιλοκαλία τῶν Ἱερῶν Νηπτικῶν Συνερανισθεῖσα παρὰ τῶν Ἁγίων καὶ Θεοφόρων Πατέρων Ἡμῶν.* The term 'Philokalia' as a title of anthologies of mystical teachings was used for the first time by Basil the Great and Gregorios of Nazianzus for an anthology of Origen's works.
222. Paisios Velitsofsky's edition was an accurate translation, but the second edition in Russian by Theophanes of Tampov and Vladimeros in 1877 has many additions and omissions. The Venice edition was published in Athens (1893) by Panagiotes Tzelates, who added the chapter "About Prayer" by Patriarch Kallistos. During the Second World War the Russian text was translated into German and English, and in 1946 into

Rumanian. Jean Gouillard edited a synopsis (*Petite Philokalie*) from Greek into French (Paris, 1953). The *Philokalia* gained in popularity after the publication of the *Adventures of a Pilgrim*, an excellent book written by an anonymous Russian who confessed that a practitioner of the 'the Jesus Prayer' could attain several supernatural powers. As Jean Gouillard has stated, the study and praxis of the hesychasts has attracted the interest of modern psychiatrists as well as historians of religion. See *Φιλοκαλία τῶν Ἱερῶν Νηπτικῶν Συνερανισθεῖσα παρὰ τῶν Ἁγίων καὶ Θεοφόρων Πατέρων*, (*Philokalia*), [Εκδοτικός Οίκος Αστήρ, 5η έκδ. (5 τόμοι), Αθήνα, 1982], vol. I, pp. 9–16.

223. "Μέθοδος φυσικὴ περὶ τῆς ἔνδον καρδίας δι' εἰσπνοῆς ῥινὸς εἰσοδοεξόδου καὶ τῆς μετ' αὐτῆς ἐνεργουμένης παρ' ἡμῶν προσευχῆς 'Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, Υἱὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐλέησόν με.'" *Philokalia*, vol. IV, pp. 220 ff. The respiration practices seem to have been known to the Gnostic schools, as suggested in the *Philosophumena*, ascribed to Hippolytos. Cf. R. Gnoli, "Hesychasm and Yoga," *EW*, vol. IV, no. 1, April 1953, p. 100.

224. In the Hellenistic world, the use of the rosary is mentioned for the first time by Palladios (fourth century AD), the editor of *Historia Lausiaca*. In India the references go back to earlier times. The Jain canonical text *Bhagavatisūtra* (II, 1) describes a wandering monk, Ajjhakanda, who was carrying a rosary (Kañchaniya) among his other ritualistic objects. The Indian rosaries were made of seeds of fruits or pieces of wood, the Muslims preferred stones, while the Christians made knots on a thread.

225. "yogaḥ citta vṛtti nirodhaḥ," Patañjali, *Yoga Sūtra*, I, 2.

226. Right cognition (pramāṇa), wrong cognition (viparyaya), imagination (vikalpa), sleep (nidrā), and memory (smṛti).

227. Mind (manas), ego (ahaṅkāra), and intelligence (mahat).

228. Cf. V. Lossky, *Théologie Mystique de l'Eglise d' Orient*, Aubier, 1944, last chapter.

229. *Yoga Sūtra*, I, 23. Cf. "praṇidhānād bhaktiviśeṣād avarjita īśvaras tam anugṛhṇāti." *Yogasūtra Bhāṣya* on *Yoga Sūtra*, I, 23.

230. *A Comparative History of Ideas*, (reprint, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1992), p. 376.

231. Nakamura, op cit., p. 381.

232. See K.S.G. D'cruz F.A., *St. Thomas the Apostle in India*, (Hoe & Co., Madras, 1922), p. 10; Benedict Vadakkekara, *Origin of India's St. Thomas Christians*, (Media House, Delhi, 1995), p. 169; H.O. Mascarenhas, *St. Thomas in North India*, Souvenir of the nineteenth century celebrations of the death anniversary of St. Thomas the Apostle in India, Madras, 1972, p. 17; Δημήτριος Βασιλειάδης, Ο Απόστολος Θωμάς στήν Ινδία, *Πειραϊκή Εκκλησία*, έτος 9ο, αρ. 93 (200), Απρίλιος 1999.

233. See Stephen Neill, *A History of Christianity in India*, Cambridge University Press, London, 1984; A.M. Mundadan, *History of Christianity in India*, Theologia Publications in India, Bangalore, 1984; George Mark Moraes, *A History of Christianity in India*, Manaktalas, Bombay, 1964; H.C. Perumalil, *Christianity in India*, Prakashan Publications, Allepey, 1972.

234. Vol. I, pp. 276–97.

235. Gnoli, "Hesychasm and Yoga," op. cit., p. 100.

236. Alberuni says that the doctrine of the Ṣūfīs and the Christians do not differ and that they share similar views in regard to the nature of the knowing being: "They maintain that he has two souls-an eternal one, not exposed to change and alteration, by which he knows that which is hidden, the transcendental world, and performs wonders; and another, a human soul, which is liable to being changed and being born." *Alberuni's India*, vol. I, p. 69.

237. Cf. S.A. Schulz, "Two Christian Saints?" *India International Centre Quarterly*, Delhi, 1981, vol. VIII, no. 2; Heimo Rau, "The Image of India in European Antiquity and

the Middle Ages," *India and the West*, pp. 198ff.

238. See *DPPN*, vol. I, p. 788, n. 1.

239. Cf. "The possible Oriental influence would seem to have been however so fully transfused and dissolved as to become thoroughly merged with the Orthodox faith. Apart from the undeniable phenomenological affinities with Yoga, which should perhaps be sought in the common substratum of the human soul, hesychasm is indissoluble grafted on Christian dogma and inserted in the Christian atmosphere." Ranieli Gnoli, "Hesychasm and Yoga," op. cit. See also, Paul Gregorios, "The Monastic Tradition," *IGCP*, pp. 29–34. For a comparative study between Orthodox Christian and Indian iconography, see Om D. Upadhya, *The Art of Ajanta and Sopocani*, Mohanlal Sukhadia University, Udaipur, 1994. For similar wise sayings found in the Gospels and in India, see Ludwik Sternbach, "Indian Wisdom and its Spread Beyond India," *JAOS*, vol. CI, no. 1, (Jan.–Mar. 1981), pp. 120–23; Dahlquist, op. cit. The author of the latter book believes that the development of Kṛṣṇa worship was due to Christian influence. For more general parallel and comparative studies, see Jacques Vigne, *Indian Wisdom, Christianity and Modern Psychology*, B.R. Publishing Corporation, Delhi, 1997; *Mysticism in Shaivism and Christianity*, edited by Bettina Baumer, D.K. Printworld, New Delhi, 1997; *Hindu-Christian Dialogue: Perspectives and Encounters*, edited by Harold Coward, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1993; Swami Akhilananda, *Hindu View of Christ*, Boston Branden Press, Boston, 1971.

CHAPTER 3

Who were the Yavanas?

THE PROBLEM OF DEFINITION

The Yavanas (Sanskrit) and Yonas (Pāli) are mentioned frequently in Indian literature and inscriptions from the mythical ages right up to the thirteenth century AD. They are spoken of in the great epics, in the Buddhist canonical texts and commentaries, in the Rock Edicts of Aśoka, in the books of the grammarians, in the *Manu Smṛti*, in the Dharmaśāstras, in the Purāṇas, and in numerous other texts and inscriptions.

The commonly accepted definition[1] states that the term 'Yavana' originally had meant 'Greek'[2] and that it was only later that it was applied to Romans, Muslims, and westerners in general. This interpretation, however, does not take into account all cases, many of which are from comparatively recent discoveries. The present study, therefore, clarifies the meaning of the term 'Yavana,' according to historical context of the Indian texts and inscriptions in which it has been found.

'Yavana' is generally thought to be derived from the Greek word Ἰάων / Ἰάονες (Ionian).[3] It has been suggested that the Indians took the word from some Semitic language or from the Persians when they first encountered Greeks on the borders of their country. The Persians originally called Ionian Greeks, and later all Greeks, Yaunas.[4] The Hebrew word for Greeks is also 'Yāwān.'[5]

The traditional Indian grammarians also presented their own etymological theory which states that the word 'Yavana' was derived from the Sanskrit root √yu ('to mix,' 'to mingle') signifying a mixed people.[6] Other Indian meanings from the same root are 'the disliked' (dvesho Yavanas), and 'the swift moving people,'[7] the latter being an allomorph of 'Javana' (Yavena gacchatīti Yavanaḥ) signifying those who were moving fast, perhaps because they possessed horses.[8] In this case the Sanskrit 'Yavana' and Old Persian 'Yauna' would be originally totally unrelated and their phonetical similarities mere coincidence.[9]

The question concerning the chronological and ethnic identity of the Yavanas began when historians started to doubt the traditional dates ascribed to the ancient Indian authors who incorporated the word 'Yavana' in

their works. The uncertainty of Indian history, along with the theory that the Sanskrit term 'Yavana' was derived from the West, led to the conclusion that all early reference to Yavanas designated Greeks. Therefore, the texts referring to Yavanas must have been composed after 327 BC because prior to Alexander's invasion, the Indians had no knowledge of Greeks. The dates of the lives of Pāṇini and Gautama were placed in post-Alexandrian times. Likewise, it has also been asserted that the Indian epics were not personal creations of particular historical personages (i.e., Vyāsa and Vālmīki), but collective works which recorded historical, religious and cultural data from the earliest times up to the date of their final composition. The final composition is estimated at sometime before the fifth century AD.

The earliest Indian usage of the term 'Yavana' is found in Pāṇini's Sanskrit grammar, *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.[10] Pāṇini, in giving examples of the formation of the female gender, placed the word 'Yavana,' along with the words 'hima' (snow), 'araṇya' (forest), 'yava' (barley), 'mātula' (a maternal uncle), and 'ācārya' (a preceptor) in which the feminine affix 'ṅīṣ' and the augment 'anuk' are to be used. He did not, however, define its meaning. Kātyāyana[11] interpreted the alluded female form of Pāṇini's 'Yavana' as bearing the meaning of 'writing,' and thus his formation, 'Yavanāllipyām' (the script of the Yavanas). Patañjali[12] (*c.* 150 BC) in his *Bhāṣya* made a further clarification by saying that whatever has been stated (by Kātyāyana) as 'Yavanāllipyāṁ' means 'the script of Yavanas' (Yavanānī lipiḥ). He used the term 'Yavanānī' and not other feminine derivations from 'Yavana,' such as 'Yavanī' and 'Yavanikā.'

Theodor Goldstücker[13] claimed that the 'Yavanānī' alluded to by Pāṇini, was actually the Persian, perhaps Cuneiform, script. This claim cannot be supported or refuted due to the uncertainty of Pāṇini's date and the lack of further clarification on the meaning of 'Yavana' in the text. Kane[14] believed that the term 'Yavanānī' was used in Pāṇini's time to denote 'the wife of Yavana,' while for Kātyāyana it referred to the Greek alphabet. The former is a possible but extremely risky conclusion because Pāṇini's interpreters (especially Kātyāyana), who were chronologically and culturally much closer to him, cannot be dismissed lightly. Pāṇini and his commentators, especially Patañjali who lived several centuries later, might have used 'Yavana' and 'Yavanānī' to describe both a people and a script. As neither gives us examples, we are unable to draw definite conclusions.

Kane[15] and Belvalkar[16] tried to compromise the traditional Indian view, which places the earliest usage of the word 'Yavana' in pre-Alexandrian times, using the theory for the foreign derivation of the term. They both said that the term 'Yavana' was used by Pāṇini and other pre-Alexandrian Indian scholars to designate Greeks living in the rich cities of Ionia, who

were known many centuries before the arrival of Alexander and the formation of the Indo-Greek kingdoms. We do not possess, however, any historically attested evidence to prove direct access and mutual interaction between the two countries at such an early period. On the contrary, the epic Yavanas who participated in the political and historical events of India could only have been inhabitants of a neighbouring country; Pāṇini would not have used the name of a distant and barely known people as an example to demonstrate a grammatical rule to his students, as Gautama would not have meant that the Ionians were the offspring of the Kṣatriyas and Śūdras, who were living only in the country of the Āryans (Bhāratam varṣam).[17]

The obvious difficulties that the above argument presents led several scholars to advance the alternative theory that the Sanskrit term 'Yavana' did not refer to Greeks in Ionia, but to Ionians who had established their own colonies in the eastern provinces of the Persian Empire. The wealthy Greek cities in Ionia, which from the early days had created settlements on the coasts of the Black Sea and Egypt, could have established their communities further than we formerly gave them credit for. This would have been much easier after the expansion of the Persian Empire and the occupation of Ionian cities in Asia Minor. Pāṇini, who lived in Gandhāra, a district of Northwest India could have heard about or met those Greeks long before Alexander's arrival in India. In support of this thesis there is also the *Majjhima Nikāya's* reference to the 'Yona country' (*yonaraṭṭhaṇ*) existing at the time of the Buddha.

Moreover, if we consider the traditional Hindu view that dates the stories preserved in epic literature as well as the lives of Vyāsa, Vālmīki, Pāṇini and Manu, to the fifth century BC and even earlier, it would be quite possible to suggest that the word 'Yavana' was used in pre-Alexandrian times to designate some Ionian people settled in the north-west border of India and that the term was applied to the Greeks who came with Alexander and occupied the same region, in much the same way as it was applied to Arab and Muslim invaders later.

The only possible objection to this theory could be that posed by modern historians who claim that there is no sufficient historical and archaeological evidence to verify the existence of pre-Alexandrian Ionian settlements in Northwest India. Besides, the *Pāli Canon* contains many later additions and the Buddha's reference to the Yona country has been considered spurious.

There is no doubt that after the invasion of Alexander and the establishment of Indo-Greek states in Bactria and Northern India, the Indians became aware of the Greeks. They probably had a common name for them, but how far can we be sure that all the Yonas and Yavanas mentioned in the

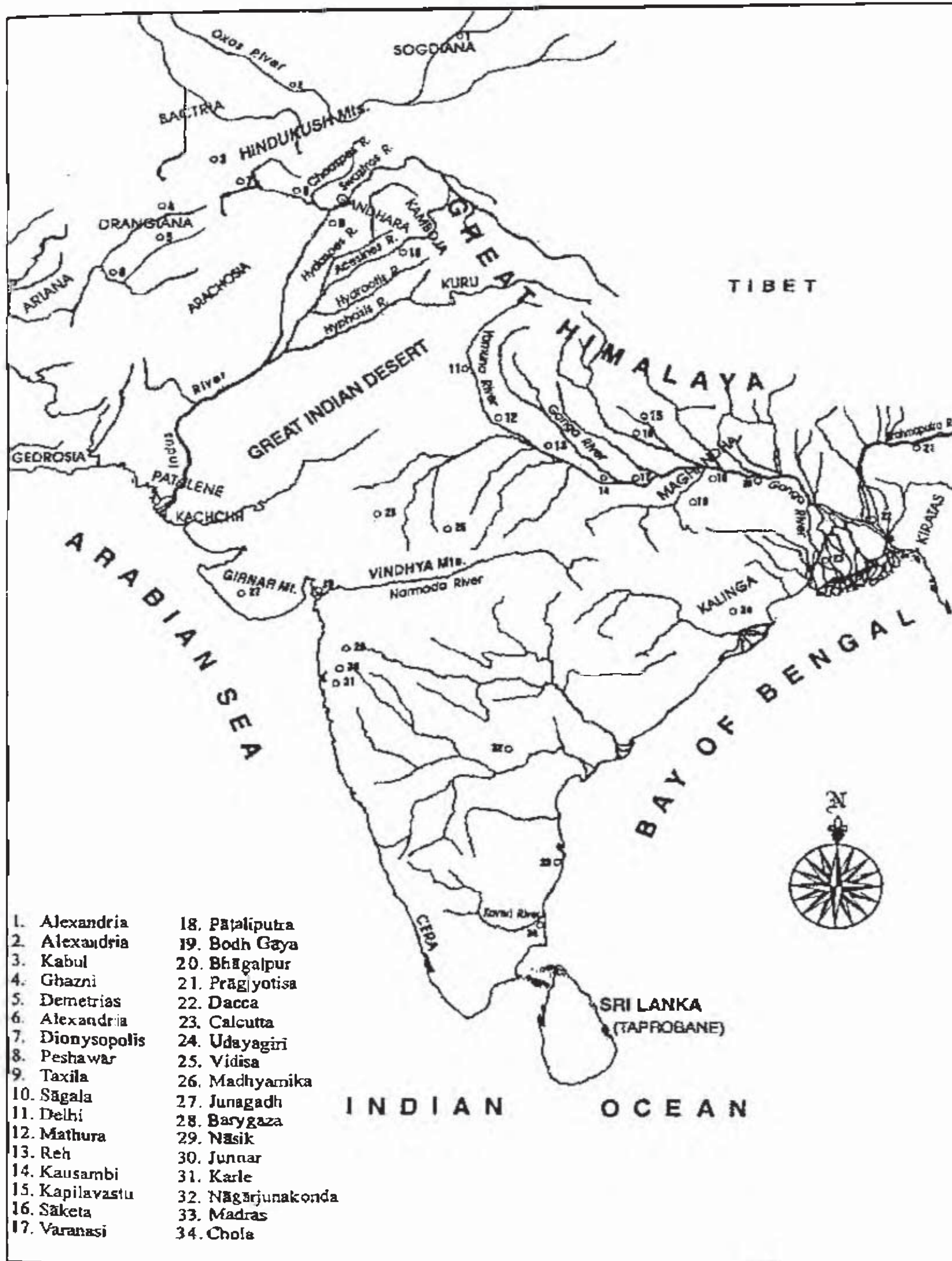
early Indian texts and inscriptions were really Greeks? Was the connotation of the term limited to ethnic Greeks or did it have a more general meaning and describe several other western peoples as well?

It is quite possible that the Sanskrit term 'Yavana' applied to Graeco-Bactrians, but there is no specific mention of Indo-Greek kings in Sanskrit literature nor inscriptions to verify this. It should be remembered that Alexander was Macedonian and became commonly known in the East as Sikandar Makduni. His army originally comprised of Macedonians and other Greeks (except Lacedaemonians), but in due course it incorporated new soldiers from conquered territories.[18] It is therefore quite doubtful whether the Indians could distinguish between a Greek and a non-Greek soldier from the multi-national army that Alexander brought to India. The lack of knowledge about the history and geography of the western world as well as the establishment of a single cosmopolitan empire which expanded from Greece to India, using Greek as the intermediate language, only adds to the confusion and lack of discrimination. The term 'Yavan' was probably also applied to some Persians and peoples of other nations associated with the Greeks and their language and customs. In the beginning of the Christian era, when Roman, Greek, Jewish, Arab and other western traders began visiting the South Indian ports, the term gained wider meaning and came to signify all westerners in general. With the fall of Bactria, the Yavana settlements spread in all directions across India and the term 'Yavana' became diluted, referring then to Persians, Arabs, Turks and all other western invaders. A similar example of grouping all 'white skinned' people under a single name might be seen in the usage of the term 'Angrezi' (English) which is applied to westerners by the majority of Indians today.

TRADITIONAL VIEWS ABOUT THE ORIGIN AND SOCIAL STATUS OF YAVANAS

The origin of Yavanas is given in the Indian epic *Rāmāyaṇa* when Ṛṣi Vasiṣṭha is said to have asked Nandinī[19] to create a force that could destroy the army of Viśvāmitra who had kidnapped and carried her away. Thus, from her vagina (yoni) she created the Yavanas and from other parts of her body she created several other powerful races, who destroyed the army of Viśvāmitra.[20] The same story is repeated in the *Mahābhārata*:

> She (i.e., Nandinī) brought forth from her tail an army of Pahlavas, from her udders an army of Dravidas and Śakas, from her womb an army of Yavanas, from her dung an army of Savaras, from her urine an army of Kanchis, from her sides Saravanas and from the front of her mouth that cow created hosts of Kirātas, Yavanas, Singhalas, Barbaras, Chivakas, Pulindas, Cīnas, Hūṇas and Keralas and many other Mlecchas.[21]



Map 2. The Greeks in India

The myth is clearly fanciful but its significance lies in the fact that a divine origin had been ascribed to the race of Yavanas.

In the *Mahābhārata* as well as in Paurāṇic literature the Yavanas are considered the descendants of the Vedic King Turvasu (Turvaśa) who became overlord of the western part of the kingdom of his father.[22] The Yavanas and their connection with Turvaśa are not found in the parts of the Veda that we possess. The author of the *Mahābhārata*, however, explains that the Yavanas along with other foreign races were originally Āryans, belonging to the ruling caste (Kṣatriya) and that they had gradually been degraded to the caste of Śūdra (servants).

> It is on account of the absence of Brāhmaṇas from among them that the Śakas, Yavanas, Kambojas and other Kṣatriya tribes have become fallen and degraded to Śūdras.[23]
>
> The Mekalas the Dravidas, the Lathas, the Paudras, the Knowarshiras, the Shaundikas, the Daradas, the Darvas, the Chauras, the Shavaras, the Barbaras, the Kiratas, the Yavanas and numerous other tribes of Kṣatriyas, have degenerated into the status of Śūdras through the anger of the Brāhmaṇas.[24]

The social status and origin of Yavanas and other foreign races is also discussed in *Manu Smṛti* and in the *Dharmasūtra* of Gautama. Manu presents similar views to those given in the *Mahābhārata:*

> But in consequence of the omission of the sacred rites, and their not consulting Brāhmaṇas, the following tribes of Kṣatriyas have gradually sunk in this world to the condition of Śūdras. The Pauṇḍrakas, the Cauḍras, the Draviḍas, the Kāmbojas, the Yavaṇas, the Śakas, the Pāradas, the Pahlavas, the Cīnas, the Kirātas, and the Daradas.[25]

Gautama informs us that some authors of his time considered certain foreign races as the products of mixed parentage; the Yavanas were the offspring of Śūdra mothers and Kṣatriya fathers:

> If a Śūdra woman has union with a Brāhmaṇa, a Kṣatriya, a Vaiśya or a Śūdra the child born would be a Pāraśava, a Yavana, a Karaṇa, a Śūdra.[26]

Other indirect evidence suggesting that the Yavanas were not excluded (aniravasita) from Vedic society can be deduced from Patāñjali's *Mahābhāṣya*.[27] In the dialogue of Patañjali with his opponent about the formation of a dual compound (dvandvaḥ), the Yavanas are mentioned, among others, as examples of Śūdras living outside the borders of the land of Āryans (Āryāvarta). It becomes evident from the syllogism that follows that the Yavanas were not considered outcastes (niravasitas). They were allowed to live in civilised areas (Āryanivāsa) and partake of food from the pots (patram) of Brāhmaṇas.

In other passages of the *Mahābhārata*, however, the Yavanas, like the



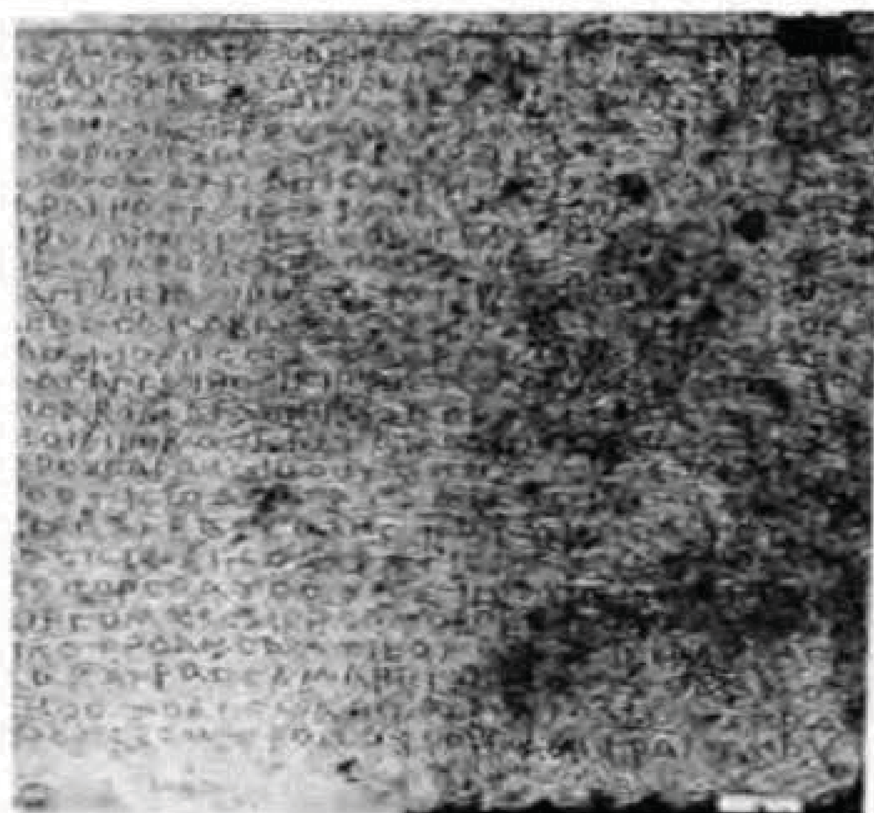
Ill. 1. Indo-Greek Coins (a) Alexander/Zeus, (b) Euthydemos/Hercules, (c) Demetrios wearing elephant's scalp/Hercules, (d) Menander/Pallas standing to left hurling thunderbolt with right hand, shield over left arm, (e) Menander/Pallas, (f) Menander/Pallas. Courtesy: (a, b, d, e) Bharat Kala Bhavan Museum, Varanasi; (c, f) Narendra Singhi Collection, Calcutta



d e f

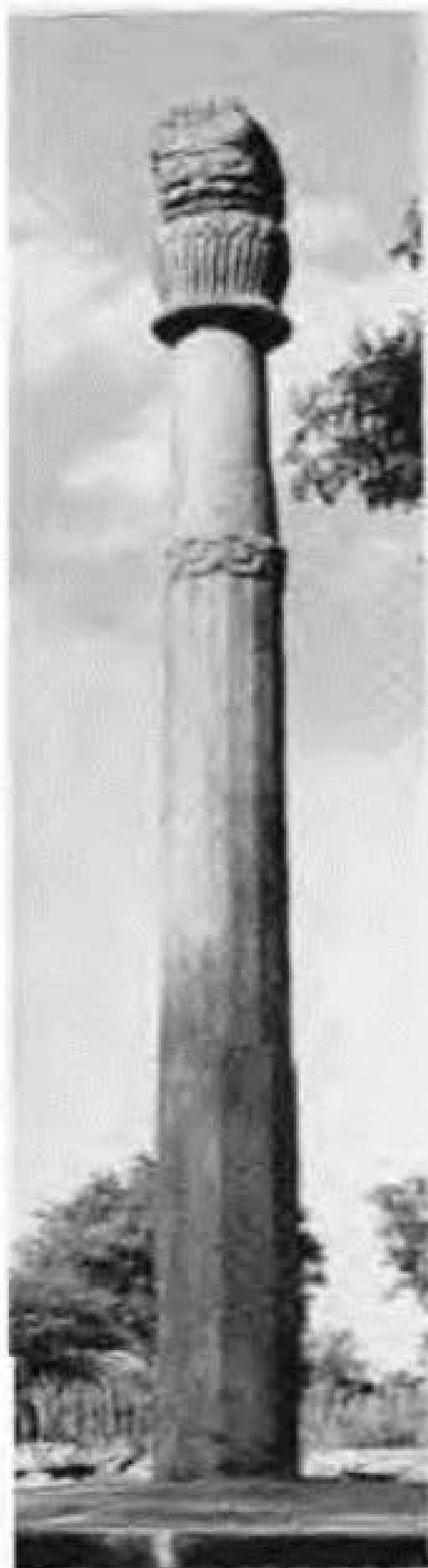
Il. 2 Indo-Greek Coins (a) Antiochos/Zeus standing facing left, (b) Diomedes/ Dioscuroi with palms on horseback, (c) Appolodotus II/Pallas, (d) Antimachos II/ winged Nike facing left holding palm in right and fillet in left hand/Horseman, (e) Hermaeus/Zeus seated on throne, (f) Azes I (Indo-Scythian)/Zeus standing. Courtesy (a-e) Narendra Singhi Collection, Calcutta; (f) Bharat Kala Bhavan Museum, Varanasi.





Ill. 3. (above) The Bilingual inscription of Asoka, discovered near Kandhahar, Afghanistan in 1958, limestone, ht. 54 cm., third century BC
Ill. 4 (below) Inscription of 25 lines in archaic Greek characters in the Bactrian or Kushan language of [illegible] Surkh Kotal, Afghanistan, limestone, ht. 112 cm. first century AD. Courtesy, Kabul Museum.

century Aü. Courtesy. Kabul Museum .



Ill. 5. (*left*) Heliodoros' Pillar, Besnagar, Vidisha dist., Madhya Pradesh, sandstone, second–first centuries BC.

Ill. 6. (*right*) The inscription on the pillar.





Ill. 7. (*above*) *Sūrya*, Gandhāra style. Jamalgarhi, Peshawar dist., Pakistan, schist, first-second centuries AD. Courtesy: Indian Museum, Calcutta
Ill. 8. (*below*) Lion Capital, chunar sandstone, ht. 2.14 m., third century BC. Courtesy: Sarnath Museum





Pl. 9. (*above*) Emaciated Buddha's head, Gandhāra style. Pakistan, schist, second century AD. Courtesy Bharat Kala Bhavan Museum, Varanasi.
Pl. 10 (*below*) Buddha's head. Gandhāra style. Pakistan, stone, third century AD Courtesy Narendra Singhi Collection, Calcutta



Ill. 11. *(left)* Buddha and devotees standing next to a pillar with Corinthian designs, Pakistan, blue schist, *c.* second–third centuries AD. Courtesy: Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh.



Ill. 12. *(right)* Buddha with Vajrapāṇi, Pakistan, schist, *c.* second–third century AD. Courtesy: Lucknow Museum.





Ill. 13. *(above)* Buddha accompanied by a naked ascetic. Pakistan, blue schist, c. second–third centuries AD. Courtesy, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh





Ill. 35 (*above*) Buddha saving Jyotiska from fire. Gandhāra style, Pakistan, black schist, c. third century AD. Courtesy: Mathura Museum

Ill. 36 (*below*) Buddha's Cremation. Gandhara style, grey schist, second century AD. Courtesy Allahabad Museum





17. (*above*) Bas-relief representing a Triton with musical instrument (guitar?), Shotorak, Afghanistan, schist, c. second–third centuries AD. Courtesy: Kabul Museum.

18. (*below*) Fight between God and Triton, Gandhara style, Jamalgarhi, Peshawar district, Pakistan, schist, first–second centuries AD. Courtesy: Indian Museum, Calcutta.









Ill. 19. (*above left*) Kinnara, Patiman, blue schist, ht. 153 cm. second–third centuries AD Courtesy: Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh

Ill. 20 (*above right*) Railing Pillar, a man with a body of horse (centaur) on lotus medallion, sandstone, second–first centuries BC Courtesy: Bodh Gaya Museum

Ill. 21. (*below left*) Railing Pillar, a horse with wings and one horn (Pegasus) on lotus medallion, sandstone, second–first centuries BC Courtesy: Bodh Gaya Museum

Ill. 22 (*below right*) Railing Pillar, half fish half man on lotus medallion, sandstone, second–first centuries BC Courtesy: Bodh Gaya Museum.





BUDDHIST CAVES

Ill. 23. (above) Caitya Cave 48 on right and adjoining caves on left. Deccan trap, Eastern Group, Junnar, Pune dist., Maharashtra, second century AD

Ill. 24. (left) Cave 3, view of the facade pillars from inside, unfinished. Deccan trap, Nasik dist., Maharashtra, first–second century AD.





Ill. 25. (*above*) Cave 3, veranda, part of left and front wall showing Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi's inscription. Deccan trap, Nasik dist., Maharashtra, AD 106–30
Ill. 26. (*below*) Cave 17, veranda, front wall and door with inscription over the left stating that "the excavation of this caitya gṛha is by the Yonaka Indrāgnidatta, son of Dhammadeva", Deccan trap, Nasik dist., Maharashtra, second century AD





Pakistan, schist, h c 11 cm., first century AD. Courtesy: Patna Museum.

Ill. 28. (below) Left profile of a man with long beard and moustache, stucco, Hadda, Afghanistan, second–fourth centuries AD. Courtesy: Kabul Museum.





Ill. 29. (above) and Ill. 30. (below) Hariti and Pancika. Gandhara style. Jamalgarhi, Peshawar dist., Pakistan, schist, first-second centuries AD. Courtesy Indian Museum, Calcutta.





Ill. 31. (*above*) Bas relief representing a couple, a female with a wine(?) cup and bearded male playing with a child beside a grape-vine plant, Hellenistic style, Hadda, Afghanistan, limestone, c. third–fourth centuries AD. Courtesy: Kabul Museum.

Ill. 32 (*below*) Dionysos Gandhāra style, Pakistan, stucco, second–third centuries AD. Courtesy: Bharat Kala Bhavan





Ill. 33 (*above*) Medallion representing Ganymede—the cup-bearer for the gods—bringing water to the eagle of Zeus, Hellenistic style, Begram, Afghanistan, plaster (cast), dia. 12.8 cm., c. first century AD. Courtesy: Kabul Museum.

Ill. 34 (*below*) Medallion representing helmeted head of young man, perhaps Mars, Hellenistic style, Begram, Afghanistan, plaster (cast), dia. 12.5 cm., c. first century AD. Courtesy: Kabul Museum.









Ill. 37. (*above*) Scale-weight, representing the young Mercury, Hellenistic style, Begram, Afghanistan, bronze, c. first century AD. Courtesy: Kabul Museum

Ill. 38. (*below*) Nude figure representing Cupid, Begram, Afghanistan, c. first century AD. Courtesy: Kabul Museum.

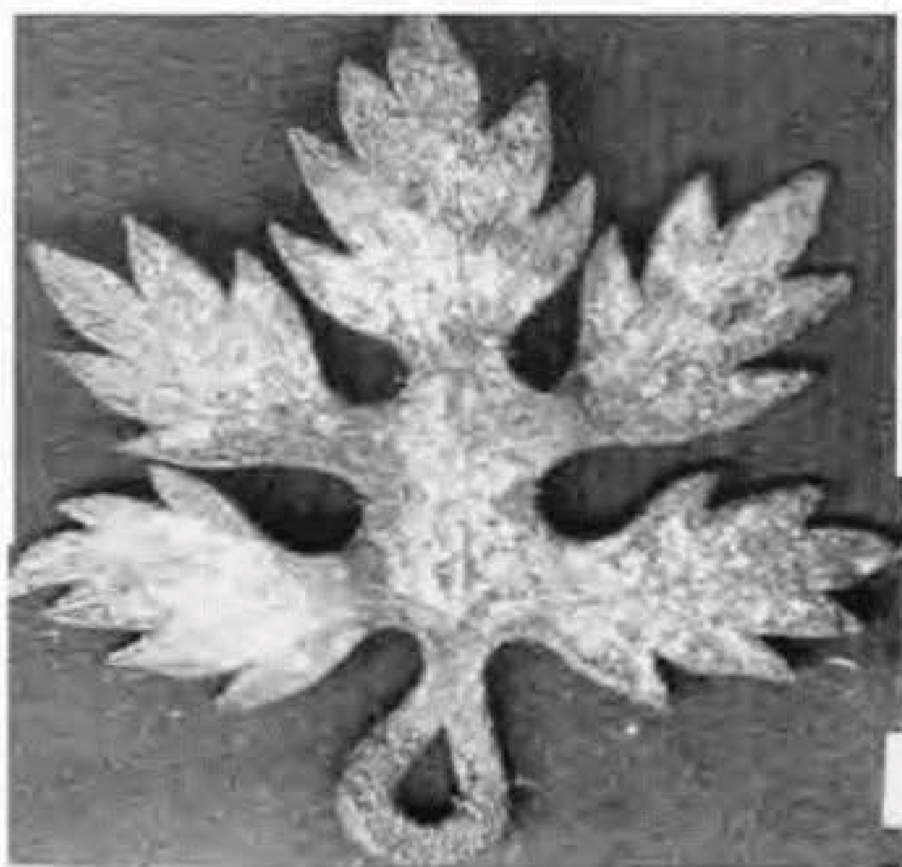


Ill. 39. (*left*) Bust of the god Mars, helmeted, Alexandrian workshop, Afghanistan, bronze, c. first–second centuries AD. Courtesy: Kabul Museum.



10 (*right*) Hercules with his familiar accou-nents of the club and the apples of Hes-ides. He wears the crown of olive leaves, lenistic style, Begram, Afghanistan, bronze, rst–second centuries AD. Courtesy: Kabul eum.





Ill. 41 *(above)* Mask of Silenos crowned with ivy, Alexandrian workshop, Begram, Afghanistan, bronze, *c.* first–second centuries AD. Courtesy: Kabul Museum.

Ill. 42. *(below)* Gilded bronze pendant, in the shape of grape





Ill. 43 (*above*) The tomb of D. Galanos, Christian Cemetery, Varanasi.

Ill. 44 (*below*) The inscription on the tomb





Ill 45 (above) The tomb of Peter Federof[illegible] by D. Galanos, Christian Cemetery, Varanasi.

Ill 46. (below) The inscription on the tomb





VARANASI AT THE TIME OF GALANOS

Ill. 47. (*above*) Daśāśvamedha ghat (1822), artist: James Prinsep, *Benares Illustrated* (1831). Courtesy, Bharat Kala Bhavan Museum.

Ill. 48. (*below*) Brahmā ghat (1822), artist: James Prinsep. Courtesy, Bharat Kala Bhavan Museum.





VARANASI AT THE TIME OF GALANOS

Ill. 49 (*above*) [illegible], artist: James Prinsep, *Benares Illustrated* (1831). Courtesy Bharat Kala Bhavan Museum

Ill. 50. (*below*) Rāmnagar ghat, The Palace of the Mahārājā of Benares, artist: Daniell, ca 1796. Courtesy Bharat Kala Bhavan Museum





51. (*above*) The Greek Orthodox church "Metamorphosis" at the Library Road, Calcutta.

52. (*below*) The interior of the church.





Ill. 53. (*above*) The Greek Orthodox church "St Charalambos" Akhna. W. Bengal.
Ill. 54 (*below*) Greek temple-like building with the tomb-stones of the Greek community of Dhaka, Bangladesh.





Ill. 55. (above) Detail of the pediment of the same building with the inscription. "Makarioi ous exelexo kai proselavou"
Ill. 56. (below) Lida Sandala performing Greek drama in medium of Bharata Natyam.

Śakas, Sindhus, Mlecchas, Punchalas, Cīnas, Hūṇas, Kambojas, Kashmiris, Kashis, Keralas, Kirātas and numerous other peoples were considered an alien race. They are mentioned as having their own country outside the borders of the land of Bhārata (viz. the land inhabited by Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras).[28]

In the *Mahābhārata* the Yavana country has been located both to the North[29] and West.[30] The *Rāmāyaṇa* places the Yavanas in the West after Kurus and Madras and between the Kambojas and the Śakas indicating that the Yavana area was a small state near the present Punjab.[31]

The Paṇḍavas, in the course of their campaigns to conquer the entire world, had invaded and subdued the Yavanas' land several times.[32] The Yavanas, along with the Śakas, accompanied King Sudakṣiṇa of Kāmboja who approached Duryodhana with a huge army to take part in the great war (Bhārata Yuddha).[33] They might also have attempted invasions of India, because a fear had been expressed that at the time of the destruction of the world (pralaya) there would be several foreign kings in India.

> O ruler of men, the course of the world then looks subverted, there are the signs of the universal dissolution. Then will rule over the earth many mleccha kings. These sinful kings addicted to falsehood will govern their subjects on principles that are false. The Andhras, the Śakas, the Palandas, the Yavana kings.[34]

The Yavanas are generally mentioned in plural without any distinguishing characteristic. In one place Karṇa describes them as omniscient (sarvajñā yavanāḥ), but that is in the context of a general description of different peoples and without any special emphasis.[35] In another place,[36] a Yauna country in the northern region is mentioned along with that of the Kambojas, Gandhāras, Kirātas, and Barbaras. It is said that those people did not exist on earth in the 'Kṛta Yuga' (Golden Age) and that they sprang from the 'Tretā Yuga' (Silver Age). They are described as acting like Cāṇḍālas (outcastes) ravens and vultures. Individual names appear very rarely[37] and neither names of cities nor descriptions of their country are to be found.

There is, however, one person who played an important part in the *Mahābhārata* and further study of his story provides us with useful information concerning the use of the term 'Yavana' and the Indian attitude towards foreigners in general. Bhagadatta, one of the most powerful, wealthy and respected foreign kings, has been described by Lord Kṛṣṇa as 'the ruler of Yavanas' (Yavanādhipa).[38] His connection with the Yavanas is attested once again, a few chapters later, when it is said that 'the powerful ruler of the mlecchas' (mlecchanāmadhipo), Bhagadatta, went to attain the Rājasūya sacrifice of Yudhiṣṭhira with a large number of Yavanas.[39] In other parts of the same epic, however, he is described as 'the king of Prāgjyotiṣa' (Prāgjyotiṣādhipaḥ).

Prāgjyotiṣa is known as the impenetrable capital of the Dānava (demon), Naraka,[40] who kept there the stolen earrings of Aditi and the umbrella of Varuṇa. Kṛṣṇa killed the demons Naraka and Muru in Prāgjyotiṣa[41] and anointed the son of Naraka, Bhagadatta, as king.[42] Soon after, Bhagadatta established order in the regions named after Muru and Naraka.[43] Finally, Bhagadatta and his army fought in the great war on the side of Duryodhana where he was killed by Arjuna.[44] After his death his son, Vajradatta, became king of Prāgjyotiṣa and he, too, was killed by Arjuna.[45]

The location of Prāgjyotiṣa is disputed. In Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*, is in the West (paścimāṁ diśam). It is said to have been a golden city built on the mountain of an island known as Varāha in which the wicked demon Naraka lived.[46] But in the Purāṇas and later literature,[47] Prāgjyotiṣa is placed in the North-eastern region beyond the Lauhitia river (Brahmaputra) in the midst of Kāmarūpa (present Assam). Moreover, the literal meaning of the word 'Prāgjyotiṣa' ('foremost light') and the mention of the Kirātas (an eastern tribe) as Bhagadatta's allies in the war against Arjuna when the latter attacked Prāgjyotiṣa,[48] suggests that the city must have stood in the East. The author of the *Rāmāyaṇa* seems to have been careless in matters concerning geography. In any case, Prāgjyotiṣa must have been in a mountainous area surrounded by water as has been described in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*[49] as well. The contradictory statements that Bhagadatta was the ruler of the Yavanas (a western tribe) and the ruler of Prāgjyotiṣa (an eastern city) indicate that the term 'Yavana' was loosely used. It described foreigners (mlecchas) in general and perhaps demons (Asuras), as Bhagadatta was considered to be the incarnation of the best of the Asuras known as Vaṣkala.[50]

M.N. Dutt, (perhaps under the influence of the 'Yavanādhipa') translates the description of Bagadatta by Lord Kṛṣṇa (aparyantabalo rājā pratīcyāṁ varuṇo yathā)[51] as, "He is the most powerful king of the West like (a second) Varuṇa," but as we have already explained Bhagadatta was the king of the East and therefore the word 'pratīcyāṁ' must allude to Varuṇa. Thus, the correct translation would read, "(Bhagadatta) is the most powerful king (in the East) like Varuṇa in the West." The fact that Bhagadatta was, however, a mleccha does not seem to have been an obstacle in allowing him to develop friendships with Indian kings and to participate in the social and religious affairs of India. Kṛṣṇa says that Bhagadatta was a friend of the father of Yudhiṣṭhira (Pāṇḍu) and that although he had gone to the side of King Jarasandha, he was still held with great affection and loved Yudhiṣṭhira, as a father loves his son. In the battle of Prāgjyotiṣa Arjuna also reminds Bhagadatta that he is his father's friend.[52] Bhagadatta attended the wedding ceremony (svayaṁvara) of Draupadī as candidate for the bride[53] and to the Rājasūya sacrifice of Yudhiṣṭhira he brought a large tribute com-

prising horses of the best breed who ran at the speed of the wind and swords made from the purest ivory adorned with diamonds and every other kind of gem.[54]

Bhagadatta's connection to Indian religion has been noted in several places. In a discussion with Arjuna he describes himself as 'a friend of Indra' (aham sakhā mahendrasya).[55] In another passage, while he is ready to make use of the terrible weapon Vaiṣṇavāstram, he recites the appropriate secret formula (mantra).[56] His grandfather, Śailālaya, is said to have practised great austerities and to have attained Indraloka[57] and his father, Naraka, was considered to be well versed in the Vedas and other scriptures and an adept in Brāhmaṇic lore.[58] These statements leave little doubt that the 'Yavana king' was popularly regarded as a Hindu or a Hinduised king.

YONAS, YAVANAS AND OTHER GREEKS

When Alexander arrived at the Indus river, the languages spoken in Northern India were various forms of Prākṛta. Sanskrit was also in use, but limited to the religious and intellectual circles. The Greeks therefore became commonly known as 'Yonas,' a Pāli and Prākṛta term which seems more likely to have been borrowed from the Persian 'Yauna' than from the Sanskrit 'Yavana.'

A few Yonas, mentioned in Pāli literature and Prākṛta inscriptions, have been identified with the Indo-Greeks. The 'Aṅtiyoko Yonarāja' found in the second and thirteenth Rock Edicts of Aśoka, has been identified with King Antiochos II Theos of Syria.[59] But the names of the countries of the other four contemporary Greek kings mentioned, [viz. Tulamaye (Ptolemaios of Egypt), Aṅtekine (Antigonas Gonatas of Macedonia), Makā (Magas of Cyrene), and Alikyaṣudale (Alexander of Epiros or Corinth)][60] are not given. This suggests that the title 'Yona' was not applied to them.

The only known case where a Greek designated his nationality in an Indian language has been found in the inscription of the Besnagar Pillar.[61] Heliodoros ('Heliodoreṇa' in instrumental case), the son of Dion (Diyasa putreṇa), who came from Taxila (Takhkhasilākena) as an ambassador of the great King Antialcidas (mahārājasa Aṅtalikitasa) to the Vidiṣā King Bhāgabhadra, described himself as a Yona.

Moreover, if we identify the Yona King Milinda of *Milindapañha* with the Indo-Greek King Menander, then Menander would be probably the only Greek king to have been mentioned in Indian (Pāli) literature. Alasandā, the chief city of the Yona country, has also been identified with the Alexandria at Paropamisadae (central Hindukush, Sk. Upariśyena).

The thirteenth Rock Edict of Aśoka distinguishes the Yonas' from other countries by saying that there is no country—except the Yonas'—where

the classes of the Brāhmaṇas and the Samaṇas do not exist.[62] From the fifth, the ninth and the thirteenth[63] Rock Edict we are also informed that in Aśoka's time several Yonas were subjects of his dominion. But all the Yonaka monks and laymen mentioned in Buddhist texts and inscriptions have Indian names.

The above observations evidently show that the term 'Yona' was applied to the Graeco-Bactrian kingdoms and to the people who followed Greek customs, but lived under the dominion of Aśoka. B.N. Mukherjee,[64] has noticed that in the early Indian context the term 'Yona' or 'Yavana' meant (I) a Greek or (II) a half-Greek or non-Greek inhabitant of a region called Yona (= Arachosia), or (III) a Hellenist non-foreigner in India, or even (IV) an Indian lover of Hellenic culture.

However, it is remarkable that historically we have hardly any material which proves that 'Yavana' referred to the Greeks.[65] The only rather dubious exception is that of the Hāthīgumphā Cave inscription of Khāravela (found in Udayagiri near Bhuvaneśvar, the capital of the state of Orissa).[66] The eighth line of this inscription tells us that the Yavana King Ḍimita (Yavanarāja Ḍimita) retreated to Madhuraṁ (? Mathura).[67]

R.D. Banerji[68] and K.P. Jayaswal[69] refer to Strabo (c. 64 BC–AD 19) and to the *Yuga Purāṇa* to prove that the Yavanarāja Ḍimita and the Indo-Greek King Demetrios are identical. But the equation between Demetrios I and Yavanarāja Ḍimita, cannot be accepted, because the invasion of the Kaliṅgan (Orissa) King Khāravela to the western country and Magadha (the mere sound of which had caused Yavanarāja Ḍimita to retreat to Madhuraṁ) is assigned to either the third century (taking 'ti-vasa-sato' to mean three hundred) or the first century (taking 'ti-vasa-sato' to mean one hundred and three).[70] In either case Khāravela was not a contemporary of Demetrios I, who ruled at the beginning of the second century BC. The Yavanarāja Ḍimita might refer to another king who bore the title 'Yavana.'

Much less can be derived from the name of 'Yavanarāja' ('king of Yavanas') Tuṣapha,[71] who was appointed viceroy at Saurāṣṭra by Aśoka (third century BC) and constructed the conduits on Girnār Lake. A.K. Majumdar[72] views Tuṣāpha as Greek, but the Persian name creates doubts. His arguments rest on the fragile assumption that in the Mauryan period the term 'Yavana' meant 'Greek' but, as we have seen, the term then used to describe Indo-Greeks was 'Yona.'

Also doubtful is the ethnic identity of the Buddhist donors who proclaimed themselves to be Yavanas on the inscriptions of the Buddhist caves in Maharashtra. None of the names of the Yavana patrons recorded in the inscriptions of the Buddhist caves of Nāsik, Karle and Junnar are actually Greek. At Nāsik, a Yavana is the son of Dharmadêna. In Chaitya Cave at Karle, we find pillars constructed by the Yavana donors Dhaṁma,[73]

Sihadhaya,[74] Chulayakha,[75] and Yasavadhana.[76] An additional pillar was constructed by a Yavana who seems to be a member of a family known as Dhamadhayas.[77] They all came from a place known as Dhenukākaṭā. Another pillar is the gift of the Yavana Viṭasamgta from Umēhanākaṭa.[78] Similarly, in Junar inscriptions we meet Buddhist Yavanas with names like the Gothic 'Ciṭa' and 'Irila,'[79] and the Indian 'Candra.'[80] Their places of origin, like Dhenukākaṭa and Umehanākāṭa, have not been identified and there can be no certainty as to whether or not there were Greek colonies in these places. Bühler and Bhandarkar conjecture that the city Dattāmitrī of the northerner Īndrāgnidatta (found in the inscription of the cave no. 17 at Nāsik) could be an Indian adaptation of the Arachosian Demetrias. Whatever the truth, we need not argue as the inscription refers to a Yoṇaka (Yoṇakasa Dhammadevaputasa Īdrāgnidatasa). All names, including that of his son, Dhammarakhita, are Indian.[81] The donor from Setapathiya is also a Yona (Serapathiyasa Yonasa Dānaṁ).[82]

In addition, several names resembling the Greek, but none accompanied by the title 'Yavana,' have been found mainly in Taxila, a place well-known for its Indo-Greek settlements. A few examples are the name of Agiśala (Gr. Agisilaos), the architect slave of the Kaniṣka casket;[83] Sapahae (Gr. Sophe); Hipeadhia ('the gift of Hippias' or Hippeos); Theadora Meridarkha (Gr. Theodoros Meridarches);[84] Thaiodora Dattaputra ('Theodoros, son of Datta'), and Theutara, son of Thavara.[85] Also, the name 'Ṭimitra' in the tablet inscription in Vidiṣā,[86] and the name 'Agila' (?Agelaos) found on an inscription in Chaitya cave at Karle,[87] occur without the 'Yavana' title.[88] Likewise, the names on the Indo-Greek coins, written either in Greek or Indian language, do not mention any nationality. Also, the nationality of Palamedes, whose Greek name was written in the Greek part of a bilingual inscription at Baglan in Afghanistan, has not been mentioned.[89] We must expect the same for all the Greek names found in Greek inscriptions in Bactria and Afghanistan as those people did not emphasise their national identity.

G.R. Sharma has identified the two Bāhlīka kings, Puṣpanidra and Damitra of the *Śrīmad Bhāgavata*,[90] as the Bactrian kings Menander and Demetrios.[91] The Indo-Greek kings Demetrios and Menander have also been identified by some scholars as the two Yakṣa kings, Daṁṣṭrānivāsī and Kṛmiśa, mentioned in Aśokāvadāna of *Divyāvadāna* (third–fourth centuries AD), a work that compiles older stories referring to the successors of King Aśoka and the Śuṅga Dynasty. This suggests that in this case, at least, the Indo-Greeks were considered Yakṣas (demigods).[92]

The text records the anti-Buddhist exploits of an Indian king who advanced northwards destroying monasteries and killing innocent monks. This description seems to correspond to the campaign of King Puṣyamitra,

who re-established the Hindu dharma and raged against Buddhism after the fall of the Mauryans. The Indian king finally reached the Koṣṭhaka kingdom which was ruled by Daṁṣṭrānivāsin. The latter king was a follower of the Buddhist dharma and was therefore not permitted to fight or harm living beings. Under this difficult condition he was forced to give his daughter in marriage to Kṛmiśa, a non-Buddhist Yakṣa ruler, who eventually destroyed the Indian king. The account is in agreement with the hypothesis that Menander had married the daughter of Demetrios, but Demetrios was not a Buddhist. P.C. Bagchi[93] reversed the order and identified Demetrios as Kṛmiśa, but Sharma[94] has pointed out that this opinion overlooks the 'fact' that Menander married Demetrios' daughter.

A shortened version of the *Divyāvadāna* is to be found in *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (AD 530–31). In this text, the names of the two Buddhist Yakṣa kings are Buddhapakṣa and Gambīra and the name of the Indian king, Gomimukhya. Bagchi[95] identified the two Yakṣas as Indo-Greek kings, but they cannot be Demetrios and Menander because their relationship is mentioned to be that of father and son.

The five year campaign of Puṣyamitra from Madhyadeśa to Jalandhar, the persecution of the Buddhists, and his final death in the North have been described in greater detail in the Lama Tāranātha's *History of Buddhism in India* (AD 1608). The same text mentioned a king named Mi-nar of Thogar (identified with Tukhāra), who was reputed to have been converted to Buddhism along with his people. Lassen has identified Mi-nar as Menander.[96] The problem of the identity of Mi-nar, however, remains, as not all historians agree that Menander ruled at the time of Puṣyamitra.

It could therefore be concluded that there is little historical proof upon which one could claim that the Sanskrit term 'Yavana' ever had the precise meaning of 'the Greek' in Indian history. The commonly accepted view that the term 'Yavana' had the original meaning of 'the Greek' is mainly based on the assumption that it was, along with its meaning, borrowed from the Persians; that the earlier references to Yavanas in Sanskrit literature were composed after the campaign of Alexander in India; that the Yona country mentioned by the Buddha and the description of the Yavanas as fallen Kṣatriyas and descendants of Turvasu are spurious; and that the Sanskrit term 'Yavana' was used as the equivalent to the Pāli term 'Yona.'

Mahābhārata's[97] description of the location of the Yauna country as being in a place where the Indo-Greeks were customarily thought to reside, shows clear evidence to favour the identification between the two terms. The fact, however, that Tuṣapha was described as a Yavana while the term 'Yona' was in current use during the Mauryan times and the use of both terms 'Yavana' and 'Yonaka' by the Buddhist donors, might suggest that

the terms were used to refer to people belonging to different origins, communities and ethnic groups.

THE YAVANA INVASION

The Yavana invasion, which culminated in the capture of Pāṭaliputra (the capital of the Mauryan Empire), has been described in the *Yuga Purāṇa* of the *Gārgī Saṁhitā*, an astronomical treatise of about the first century BC. In this text, Lord Śiva prophesies that in Kali Yuga, after the reign of Śāliśuka[98] the Yavanas, having captured Sāketa (sāketam ākramya), will capture Pāṭaliputra (prāpsyanti Kusumadhvajaṁ). The Yavanas will command, the kings will disappear, but ultimately the Yavanas, intoxicated with fighting, will not stay long in Madhyadeśa ('the Middle country'). In their own country a terrible and ferocious civil war will arise amongst them. Then on the destruction of the Yavanas, owing to the influence of the Age, there will be seven powerful kings at Sāketa.[99]

There is no unanimity among the different versions of the text; in many places the language is corrupt and most words have variant readings. This has led to several controversies among historians regarding the interpretation of some difficult stanzas.[100] Sircar[101] and Jayaswal,[102] tried to interpret the word 'Dhamamīta' ('Dharmamīta,' *Bibliotheque Nationale*; 'dharmabhīta,' Mankad) found in the same text, as the Indianised form of the name of the Indo-Greek king Demetrios I. However, D.R. Mankad[103] and Narain[104] did not accept this argument. 'Dharmamīta' literally means 'one whose Dharma has been destroyed' and 'Dharmabhīta,' 'one who is fearful of Dharma.'

The Indian reference to the invasion of the Yavanas, who had advanced as far as Mādhyamika (Shikor), Sāketa (Ayodhyā), and Pāṭaliputra (Patna), finds correspondence in the Greek records of the history of the Indo-Greeks. Demetrios (*c.* 180 BC), who could have been a contemporary of Śāliśuka, invaded India, but in his absence Eukratides revolted in Bactria. Hence, he was forced to stop his campaign and returned quickly to face him with a powerful army consisting of sixty thousand men. Justin[105] recorded the battle between Eukratides and Demetrios whom he calls 'king of the Indians' (*regis Indorum*). The *Yuga Purāṇa* probably referred to the same civil war that took place in their own country.

Strabo said that the Greeks who were in Bactria became so powerful, by means of the country's fertility and advantages, that they became masters of Ariana and India. According to Apollodoros of Artemita (author of the lost history of the Parthians), the Indo-Greek kings, particularly Menander, [if he really crossed the Hypanis to the East and reached Imaus (Yamunā)],[106] subdued more nations than Alexander. These conquests were achieved partly

by Menander and partly by Demetrios the son of Euthydemos, king of the Bactrians.[107] They got possession not only of Patalene but of the kingdom of Saraostus, and Sigerdis, which constitute the remainder of the coast. Strabo also said that those who came after Alexander advanced beyond the Hypanis, as far as the Ganges and Pāṭaliputra.[108] Moreover, if we take Pliny's words[109] literally it would appear that Seleucos Nicator, the successor of Alexander, was the first Greek to carry arms to regions of the Ganges. There is also a tradition (letter of Crateros, Plutarch, and *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*) that shows Alexander himself as having advanced as far as the Ganges.[110]

The invasion of the Indo-Greeks in the Ganges Valley is further attested by the discovery of Indo-Greek double-enged arrow-heads, similar to those found in Taxila, in the excavations at Kauśambī, Sokh, and Mathura, and clay seals and coins depicting Greek deities, such as Athena, Nike, and Apollo, and the semi-god Hercules, found in the course of excavations at Rājghāṭ (near Varanasi), which are now exhibited in the Bharat Kala Bhavan Museum, Varanasi.[111]

Indian texts suggest that a Yavana invasion took place around the same time as Demetrios I was ruling in Bactria. Patañjali (*c.* 150 BC) in his *Mahābhāṣya*,[112] while giving examples of the formation of the imperfect past ('laṅg' in Sanskrit grammar), mentions that the Yavanas had captured Sāketa and Mādhyamika (aruṇadyavana sāketam aruṇadyavano madhyamikām). From the use of the imperfect past and from another passage,[113] where the Yavanas are described as Śūdras living outside the borders of the Āryāvarta, it becomes evident that in the days of Patañjali the Yavana invasion was an old, but still well-remembered story. As Chattopadhyaya[114] has said, it was within the range of sight of Patañjali. Similar conclusions regarding the time of the Yavana invasion, might be derived from the fifth act of Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra.* In this text the invasion of the Yavanas into India is not mentioned and seems already to have been forgotten. The Yavana territory is described as extending to the southern bank of the Indus river (Sindhordakṣiṇarodhasi), where a fierce battle took place between Vasumitra and the Yavanas for the sake of Puṣyamitra's sacrificial horse. Puṣyamitra was the founder of the Śuṅga dynasty and contemporary to Patañjali.[115]

Eventually evidence has been gathered to indicate there is a greater probability that there were two Yavana invasions in India. The first seems to have taken place during the reign of Demetrios, at the beginning of the second century BC. He captured Mādhyamika and Sāketa, but not Pāṭaliputra as Patañjali did not mention the capture of the capital in his above mentioned series of examples. The Greek king, who invaded the very heart of India at the end of the second century BC, was probably Menander. This is

suggested in a number of several ways: in the statement of Apollodoros who emphasised Menander's military advance in India; in the close association between Indians and Yonas during the reign of king Milinda, as it has been described in the *Milindapañha*; in the discovery of a Brāhmī inscription in Reh,[116] which has been attributed to Menander; and from the mention of the construction of a Buddhist stūpa by King Milinda at Pāṭaligrāma (Pāṭaliputra) in the Stūpāvadāna section of Kṣemendra's *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā*.[117]

YAVANAS IN THE PAURĀṆIC LITERATURE

In Paurāṇic literature (beginning after the fifth century AD), older stories are preserved and mixed with new ones and the problem of identifying the Yavanas becomes more complex. The region of the Yavanas is generally placed north-west of Bhāratam varṣam, the land which extended from Kumārī (Cape Comorin) in the South to the source of the Ganges in the North. In a few passages, however, we find the Yavanas mentioned amongst people living in the Northeast.[118] In *Matsya Purāṇa* the Yavanas and Kirātas are said to dwell in the East and West.[119] The description seems to be inaccurate, as a few verses earlier,[120] the Yavanas are enumerated between the Gandhāras and Sindhus in the North and in another chapter, the seven rivers coming from the Himalayas are said to flow among several mleccha countries,[121] including the Yavana, until they fall into the sea (Dakṣiṇa Samudra).

The Yavana country which in the *Mahābhārata* seems to be an almost insignificant country, one on a long list of the countries of the world, is in Paurāṇic times sometimes referred to as the single western neighbour of India. The *Skanda Purāṇa*[122] informs us that the Yavana country (Yavana deśa) had forty thousand villages. The Yavana and Kāmboja are also said to be terrible countries.[123] Sometimes Yavanas are described as different from mlecchas[124] and sometimes they are included among them.[125] In *Padma Purāṇa*,[126] the term 'Yavana' is generally used to imply 'criminal.' It is said that all those involved in terrible acts, such as killing, kidnapping, practising abortion, etc. resembled Yavanas. Moreover, Kane quotes several minor texts in which Yavanas are described as mlecchas (barbarians), eaters of cow's flesh, contradictory thinkers, and having their own peculiar manner of dress and trimming of hair.[127]

In the course of time the Yavanas expanded their dominion in India. The onset of Kali Yuga described in the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas, seems to have actually taken place. We hear that all hermitages, holy places, rivers and pools had been besieged by Yavanas.[128] They forecasted that in Kali Yuga the Yavanas would be in India for the sake of religion, pleasure and

wealth,[129] and numerous foreign dynasties would rule successively, one after the other. The *Matsya Purāṇa*[130] prophesied that after the Śaka dynasty eight Yavana kings would come and they would reign for eighty-seven years (one hundred and sixty according to *Brahmāṇda Purāna*). The same number of Yavana kings was cited in the *Bhāgavata Purāna*,[131] but there it is said that they will succeed the Kaṇva dynasty. In another passage it is stated that the Kailakila Yavanas[132] will be future kings of Magadha and will rule for one hundred and six years. All the names of the Yavana kings (viz. Vindhyaśakti, Puranjaya, Rāmacandra, Adharma, Varāṅga, Kṛtanandana, Śudhinandi, Nandiyaśa, Śiśuka, and Pravīra) are Indian.

The association of certain Yavanas with Indian sages and religions is noticed in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* and elsewhere. In the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*[133] the Yavanas are mentioned among the foreigners who take refuge with sages (those who depend on God), but even then they are purged of their sins. The *Sammoha Tantra*, referring to the Tāntrika culture of foreign lands, mentions the Yavanas. It may be that these countries shared similar esoteric practices, such as the worship of the goddess, with the Tāntrikas in India.[134]

In *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*[135] we read of the marriage of an Indian woman to a Yavana prince. The daughter of Kāla ('time' or 'black'), desirous of securing a husband, searched over the three worlds, but nobody welcomed her. Finally, she approached the Lord of the Yavanas, Bhaya (fear) by name, requesting him to marry her. Bhaya politely refused, but he arranged that she be married to his brother, Prajwāra (mortal fever). In the next chapter the destruction of the city of Purañjala by the Yavana army is described in graphic detail.

The most remarkable Yavana invasion took place under the leadership of Kālayavana (Black Yavana) who, despatched by the sage Nārada, captured Mathura, the city of Kṛṣṇa, with an army of thirty million mlecchas.[136] Kṛṣṇa fled and entered a cave. The Yavana followed him and entered the cave where he saw someone sleeping. He thought he was Kṛṣṇa and kicked him. The sleeping person was Mucukunda, who woke up and burnt Kālayavana to ashes.[137]

The story of Kālayavana is not mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*. It seems that this story was created in later times, when the term Yavana was mixed up with other aggressors. Descriptions, such as those of the vast Yavana country and of the powerful, cruel armies of the Yavana kings, have led several scholars to suggest that these messengers of death (yama dūta iva) were the first Mohammedan invaders. A.B.L. Awasthi[138] suggested that the 'Yavana deśa' represented the Arab Principality of Sindha, while H.H. Wilson[139] thought that they were the first Mohammedans of the Northwest region of India. Sircar[140] supported a similar view by saying that the 'Kāla

Yavanas' were Muslims. They were called 'dark' in order to distinguish them from the fair-complexioned Greeks. But as several passages are definitely of a much earlier date this does not seem to have always been the case. Alberuni also spoke of an era called 'Kālayavana' by the Hindus of which he said he was unable to obtain full information. He stated that the Hindus placed its epoch in the Dvāpara Yuga (Copper Age) and believed that the Kālayavanas had severely oppressed their country and their religion.[141]

Several mythical kings are mentioned as having inflicted 'proper punishment' on foreign sinners. King Pramati of the Bhṛgu family, born at the end of the Svāyambhuva Manu period, traversed the earth for thirty years with a vast army of horses, elephants and a hundred thousand Brāhmaṇa soldiers armed with various kinds of weapons. He destroyed countless mleccha countries including that of the Yavanas.[142] In *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*,[143] Manvantara Svāyambhuva is said to have moved around for twenty years and to have killed all mlecchas and heretics born of Śūdra women. He also killed those who were born from mixed castes and those who were dependent upon them, such as the Gandhāras, Pahlavas, Yavanas, Śakas and Barbaras. Also, Bharata, in the course of his conquest of the (four) quarters, is said to have destroyed all the Kirātas, Hūṇas, Yavanas, Andhras, Kaṅkas, Khaśas, Śakas and Mlecchas as well as kings who despised the Brāhmaṇas and the Vedas.

The Yavanas along with the Śakas (Bahūdakas according to *Śiva Purāṇa*), Kāmbojas, Pāradas, and Pahlavas are the tribes (Rākṣasas according to *Śiva Purāṇa*) who assisted the Haihayas in occupying the kingdom of Bāhu. Finally, Sagara conquered the Barbarians and put nearly all the Haihayas to death. The five tribes took refuge from Vasiṣṭha, the family priest of Sagara, who saved their lives. Nevertheless, Sagara imposed certain penalties upon them. Their heads were completely shaved (only the crown according to *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*; only the moustache according to the *Brahmāṇḍa*) and they were not allowed to offer sacrifices to fire or to study the Vedas. Thus, separated from religious rites and abandoned by the Brāhmaṇas, these tribes became mlecchas.[144] They abandoned their traditional dress and life and sought sanctuary in mountains, forests, caves and such places.

LATER HISTORICAL REFERENCES

In the famous Nāsik Cave inscription of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi[145] (AD 149), the great Queen Gotamī Balasirī tells us that her glorious son, Siri Sātakaṇi Gotamīputra destroyed the Śakas, the Yavanas and the Pahlavas (śaka-yavana-palhava nisūdanasa). As far as is known, the Śakas had occupied the region of Bactria and the Deccan Plateau for a long time and Gotamīputra

had re-established his kingdom. It is possible that certain Indo-Greeks could have assisted the new rulers in their campaign and dominion, but it seems more likely that the term 'Yavana' was from then onwards applied to other peoples. The existence of an independent Indo-Greek kingdom ceased before the end of the first century BC and the descriptions of powerful Yavana armies in later inscriptions and literature cannot be identified as Indo-Greeks unless we accept that certain Indo-Greek kingdoms continued on the West coast after the fall of Bactria.

Nihar Ranjan Ray[146] makes the plausible assertion that the Yavana dynasties in Central India (seventh and eighth centuries AD) and Orissa (from the fourth to the seventh centuries AD) were Indo-Greeks, who after the fall of Bactria gradually advanced towards the interior of India and in the process became thoroughly 'Hinduised,' as suggested by the name of their first (viz. Raktabāhu) and later leaders. Ray cites the Kailakila Yavanas of *Viṣṇu* and *Bhāgavata* Purāṇas and the Yavana king mentioned in the Khalimpur inscription of Dharmapāla, to prove that Indo-Greeks were gradually incorporated into the Hindu population and continued to rule in different parts of India, to as late as the eighth century AD. These arguments, however, are only sufficient to prove the presence of Yavana kings and kingdoms, which have been noted elsewhere. No Indo-Greek descent can be established on the grounds of the title 'Yavana' alone, as the name referred to various tribes who invaded India from the north-west, and to western and Arab traders who have established colonies on the eastern sea coast. Moreover, the mention of southern and eastern Yavana kingdoms and the Indian names of Yavana kings could suggest that in several cases the term was used to describe some tribes of Indian origin.

Sea-trade between the western world and India began as early as the times of Ptolemaios Philadelphos. With the increase of Roman power and demand for Oriental luxuries, eastern sea-routes were increasingly used in the first centuries of the Christian era. R.E.M. Wheeler[147] has shown that the Roman trading posts extended to and were firmly established in India as far as the East coast, sixty miles south of Pondicherry; the term 'Yavana' applied to Roman and other western traders visiting South India's ports during the first centuries of the Christian era.[148] But we should not forget that the crews and captains of the Roman vessels were mainly Greek. The Greeks had a long tradition of sea navigation and continued to dominate the seas as is stated in the reliable information given in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*. At the same time several Yavana (western) adventurers were employed by Indian kings mainly as guardians, shipbuilders, engineers, architects, artists and astrologers. Some of them established their communities in the Indian society while others colonised certain coastal areas.

Several references to the Yavanas and their kingdom occur in Tamil epic literature and in the Ceylonese chronicle *Cūlavaṁsa* (beginning after second century AD). In the fifth part (canto) of the Tamil epic poem *Çilappatikaram*, for example, the abodes of wealthy Yavanas and mercenary Yavana swordsmen are described. A Yavana kingdom, existing somewhere in the north of the Cêra (a South Indian kingdom, presently Kerala) is also mentioned.[149] The Cêra are said to have penetrated the golden region of the high mountain in the fertile kingdom of the barbarous Yavanas. Alain Danielou[150] interpreted 'Yavana' here as 'Greek,' while Aṭiyārkkunallār[151] spoke of them as 'milêcchas' ('foreigners' in general) and Turks.

With the decline of the Roman Empire, trade with India gradually passed into the hands of Ethiopians, Persians and Arabs. The latter dominated it from the third to the sixteenth century when West European colonialists began to establish trade posts on the Indian coasts. The term 'Yavana' then seems to have been applied to certain Arab traders and perhaps to an Arab colony.

Pisharoti[152] informs us that the term 'Jônôn' (also 'Jônaka'), which is still used on the West coast of India, and its Tamilised form 'Conaka' used on the East coast, refer to Arab descendants and to those who were converted to Islam. As both terms closely resemble the Pāli 'Yona,' it might be suggested that the term 'Yona' was also used to designate Muslims in later times.

Wickremasinghe suggests that the words 'yon,' 'yohon,' and 'yona,' found in late Sinhalese inscriptions, are used in the sense of 'ruler,' and probably are derivatives of 'Īśana' in combination with 'poḷo' (Sk. 'pṛthivī,' P. 'paṭhavī,' Pkt. 'puḍhavī,' 'puhavī,' 'puhai,' Sinh. 'poḷova' and 'poḷo'), which accounts for the vowel changes and the insertion of 'y.'[153] He has no ground to suppose that the words 'yona' or 'yon' may possibly refer to the ancient Arabian traders and their descendants in Ceylon.[154]

Alberuni, the Arab philosopher who wrote a detailed account of India, twice refers to the country of the Yavanas. In the first instance (based on the description of *Vāyu Purāṇa*), he places the Yavanas among the people living in the North,[155] while in the second (taken from the Varāhamihira's Saṁhitā), he mentions the Yavanas, along with the Barbaras, Pāraśavas (Persians), Kirātas, Sindhus, Ānarta (Turks), and Mlecchas (Arabs), as having land in the Southwest.[156] In the thirtieth chapter of his book he says that in Laṅkā, the place where the demon Rāvaṇa fortified himself after kidnapping Sītā, the wife of Rāma, there is a labyrinthine fortress which the Hindus do not name, but is considered to be in the midst of the inhabitable world. This place, however, is known by the Muslims as 'Yavana-Koṭi' and is frequently described as being identical to Rome.[157] From this description it might be inferred that the Arabs sometimes used the term

'Yavana' to refer to the Romans as well.

References to Yavanas have also been found in several later inscriptions. On a copperplate inscription of Dharmapāla[158] (c. AD 775-812) found in Khālimpur of Bhāgalpur district, presently Bihar) it is written that several kings, amongst them a Yavana king, approved the installation of the King of Kānyakubja. On another copperplate of Śrīcandra[159] (c. AD 925–75, found in Paścimabhāga) we read that Śrīcandra's military success had distressed the womenfolk of the Yavanas, Hūṇas and Utkalas. In the twenty-fourth verse of Khārepāṭaṇ plate of Anantadeva I[160] (Śaka year 1016 = AD 1094) it is written that at the end of the reign of Mummuṇi, the Kôṅkaṇa country was overrun by the Yavanas, who harassed the gods and Brāhmaṇas and that Anantapāla drove away the vile Yavanas. On a plate of Sūryasena (c. AD 1210–15) a Garga Yavana is mentioned.[161] And on the Rôhtāsgaḍh rock inscription of Pratāpa[162] (c. AD 1222, found in Bengal) the illustrious King Pratāpa is said to have cut up the Yavanas merely for sport.

The latest usage of the term (thirteenth century AD) refers to the Turks, who had adopted Persian culture and language, and who, overthrown from their northern dominion by the Mughals, had burst into India and wrested Bengal.[163] The use of the term 'Yavana' ends with the introduction of the terms 'Yunan' and 'Yunani' by Muslim conquerors which continued to refer to both Muslims and Greeks without discrimination. During this period we hear of the Yunani medicine (Yunani Tibb) which, though it is known to have been developed by Persian and Arab chemists, originated from and was based upon the philosophical and scientific principles of Hippocratic medicine.[164]

YAVANĀCĀRYA AND YAVANIKĀ

It is also necessary to say something about the words 'Yavanācārya' ('master of Yavanas') and 'Yavanikā' ('a screen of cloth') which have often been connected with Greek astrology and theatre respectively.

Several words and symbols of Greek astrology were added to the vocabulary of Indian astrology after the arrival of the Macedonians in India.[165] But to claim, on their existence alone, that the Yavana astrologers were Greeks is not justifiable. The Greeks themselves were inspired in the pursuit of astronomy by Babylon after the invasion of Alexander and particularly after Berossus.[166]

> Babylonians would add a Greek name to their own and learn Greek, even to writing Babylonian in Greek letters, for all these things were useful to merchants in a world where Greek was not only the official language but a widely spread medium of commerce . . . they might even write books in Greek, for it gave a wider public . . . Babylonians translated Babylonian astronomical texts

> into Greek for Greek use, and it is now well known that Hellenistic astronomy was not purely Greek but essentially Graeco Babylonian. . . . But the real effect which Babylon produced upon Greeks, as upon every people with whom it came in contact, was through its astrology.[167]

Very little is known about the lives and works of the people who called themselves as Yavanācāryas and composed astrological works in Sanskrit. Keith[168] describes the *Yavana Jātaka* of Sphujiddhvaja, a book in which Yavaneśvara is said to have translated the work from his own language into Sanskrit in the year 91 of an unspecified era, as an obscure and later text. It is not clear whether Yavaneśvara Sphujiddhvaja (who wrote his work in four thousand Sanskrit verses at the end of the second century of our era) and Yavanācārya (who was cited by Varāhamihira) and Yavananarendra or Yavanendra (mentioned by Bādarāyaṇa, the predecessor of Varāhamihira) were different persons or one and the same.[169] The nationality of the Yavanācāryas is unclear; they may have been Greek, Arab or Persian astrologers. The last of these seems most probable if we consider that their names were not Greek, and that a Persian writing Sanskrit poetry called himself Yavana-Śāstra-Pārangama.[170] The same applies to the author of the large text *Vṛddha Yavana Jātaka* ascribed to Mīnarāja Yavanācārya, who might have merely adopted the title of the original famous astrologer.

The influence of the Yavanas in the development of Indian astrology becomes evident from the statement of Varāhamihira (sixth century AD) that the mleccha Yavanas are worthy of the same respect as the Ṛṣis (Seers) because of their scientific knowledge.[171] Varāhamihira[172] expressly states that he only sets out what the Yavanas have said. Sārāvalī[173] agrees with him and says that as the work of Varāhamihira is brief, he took essential matters from the extensive *śāstras* composed by Yavananarendra and others. Utpala[174] appears to have been well acquainted with the astrological works *Yavana Jātakas* of Sphujiddhvaja and Yavaneśvara, as he quotes many of their verses in his book. The fact that the Yavanas had communicated several aspects of their astronomical system to the Hindus was noticed by Alberuni. He refers to a book composed by Varāhamihira, known as *Pañcasiddhāntikā*, where Brahmaputra says, "many of the *Siddhāntas* are Sūrya, others Indu, Pulisa, Romaka, Vasiṣṭha and Yavana."[175] Alberuni also states that the Hindus had a large book on the science of the astrology of nativities called *Sārāvalī*, but he adds that there is another still larger book, which incorporates all astrological science, called *Yavana*.[176] The Greek word 'hora' (ὥρα) meaning 'hour' is also found in the titles of two astrological works, the *Horāsāsa* by Pṛthuyaśas and the *Horāśāstra* by Bhaṭṭotpala.

Several scholars have suggested that Yavanikā, a screen of cloth used to cover a retiring room and to form the background of an Indian stage, was so-named due to the influence of the Greek theatre. But, very little is known about the theatrical activities of the Indo-Greeks.[177] As A.B. Keith[178] has pointed out, it is not known whether there was any curtain in Greek theatre from which the Indian 'Yavanikā' could have been borrowed. Shekhar[179] has suggested that the term came from the Prākṛta 'Javanikā,' meaning 'moving swiftly.' It has also been suggested that the theatre curtain was so-named because the cloth material ('paṭī,' 'apaṭī') was imported from the country of the Yavanas (Bactria, Persia, Arabia) or because it was supplied by Yavana traders. However, it seems most likely to have been associated with the Yavanī, the foreign girls employed as attendants and dancers by the Indian kings.[180]

THE MOHAMMEDAN INVASIONS

Mohammedan invasions of India began a few decades after the death of Mohammad at Medina. During these invasions the state of Punjab was plundered. In AD 771, the first major Mohammedan invasion occurred and this time the states of Sind and Multan were captured. But these early victories were short-lived and the Hindus soon regained their land. In AD 977, Jayapāla of Waihind feared the vigorous Muslim expansion and invaded Ghazni, but he was defeated and the Punjab was taken by the Turks and Persians. A few years later, Mahmud (*c.* AD 971–*c.* 1030), the Muslim Sultan of the Afghan kingdom of Ghazni, invaded India (1001–26), defeated Jayapāla and expanded his dominion from Persia to the Ganges river. This was the first Mohammedan conquest to succeed in consolidating itself. About one hundred years later a second major Mohammedan invasion occurred and this time Bakhtyār Khalzī conquered Bihar and Bengal. The Delhi Sultanate (1206–1526) occupied the whole northern plain of India with the exception of Kashmir. In 1294, the Mohammedans penetrated the centre and south of India. The Delhi Sultanate was weakened and subsequently divided into several small Muslim kingdoms after the capture of Delhi by the Mughal Timur (Tamerlane, *c.* 1336–1405) in 1398. Finally it was subdued by Babur (1483–1530), the first Mughal emperor of India, who began his long campaign from Turkestan and, having conquered the Afghan Empire (1504), finally entered Delhi in 1526. During the reign (1556–1605) of Akbar, the Mughal Empire was extended across most of northern and central India.[181] The cultural flowering of the Mughals reached its peak under Shah Jahan (1627–58), who constructed the Red Fort (Royal Palace) and the Jama Masjid (one of the biggest mosques in the world) in Delhi, and the Taj Mahal (one of the world's most renowned expositions of architectural genius) in Agra.

It is generally believed that the Mohammedans invaded India to spread Islam and that their encounter with the polytheist and idolatrous Hindus was quite violent. But as several recent scholars[182] have clearly pointed out, this was not always the case. Instead, Mohammad bin Qasim, the very first Muslim to conquer parts of India, accorded Hindus the special status of 'Ahl-e-Kitab' (people bearing divine books) that was meant for Christians and Muslims alone. Somehow, the Muslims could not treat Hindus as 'Kafirs' and 'Mushrikeen' (religious deviants), for the *Koran*[183] refers as 'Kafir' anyone who does not believe in the possibility of rebirth. The *Koran*[184] gives some hints of the beliefs in reincarnation and final liberation, but these doctrines could be understood properly only by the great mystics of Islam. Hazrat Jalal-ud-Din Rumi described the process of reincarnation from mineral and plant to animal and man and then to angelhood and beyond. Likewise, Mansur al-Hallaj, who proclaimed his identity with Truth (Anal Haq), said, "Like the herbage I have sprung up many times on the banks of flowing rivers. For a thousand years I have lived and worked in every sort of body."

Several Muslim rulers, such as Shahabuddin (d. 1373) and his son Kutbuddin were patrons of the Hindu religion. Zainul Abedin and Śīryabhaṭṭa made great efforts towards the re-establishment of the study of Sanskrit and *Atharvaveda*. In the courts of Zainul Abedin, Mohammad Shah, Abdur Rahim Khan-Khana, and a few other Muslim rulers, there were many Sanskrit Paṇḍits who translated a large number of Sanskrit texts into Persian and Arabic languages and contributed new texts in Sanskrit literature. Several poetic and scientific works were also composed into Sanskrit by Muslims themselves.

Among the Mughal emperors, Akbar was the first who tried to create a brotherhood (under the fatherhood of Allah) of all religions and was patron to many Hindu and Jain scholars. One of the latest Upaniṣads, the *Alla Upaniṣad,* was composed by a courtier of the emperor.[185] In the text Allah is the God of the gods, is the eldest, the greatest, the noblest, the perfect, the Brahma (allo rasulla maha madarakavarasmalle). Dārā Shukoh, the elder son of Shah Jahan followed the liberal religious tenets of Emperor Akbar and in 1657 translated the Upaniṣads into Persian. He also wrote a book intended to reconcile the religious doctrines of Hindus and Muslims. Unfortunately, he met with an undesirable death; his younger brother Aurangzeb, desiring to wipe out the legitimate successor of the throne, accused him of being an infidel and dangerous to the established religion of the empire.

The Mughal Empire began to decline after the reign of Aurangzeb (1658–1707). Hindu kings (rājas) revolted and established their own independent kingdoms. At the same time Portuguese, Dutch, French and British

colonialists began settling along the coasts of India. Vasco da Gama arrived at Calicut in 1498, but the Portuguese only succeeded in establishing control of two ports, at Goa and Diu. The Dutch dominated Cochin (1663) and Colombo (1656) and the French, Pondicherry (1674). The British East India Company established trading posts at Surat (1612), Madras (1639), Bombay (1661), and Calcutta (1690). In 1739 the last Mohammedan invasion took place which lasted until 1857, when British dominion was extended over the whole of India.

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2. E.J. Rapson (*CHI*, vol. I, p. 487), before the third century AD; Narain (op. cit., p. 1, n. 1), until the beginning of the Christian era.
3. The Greek myth has the term 'Ionian' to derive from 'Ion,' the name of the mythical ancestor of Ionians. Ion was the abandoned son of Apollo and Creusa, (daughter of the Athenian king Erechtheus and wife of Xuthus). The 'v' sound in the word 'Yavana' represents an original Greek digamma, which gives hints regarding its earliest pronunciation ('ΙάFων).
4. Yaun[ā], Ya'unā, Yauna, and Yaunā in Darius' inscriptions, and Yaunā in the Persepolis inscription (h) of Xerxes. All inscriptions are in Old Persian language in Cuneiform script. See *SI*, I, pp. 3, 7, 10, 12.
5. No. 3430, *The NIV Exhaustive Concordance*, edited by Edward W. Goodrick and John R. Kohlenberger, Zondervan, Michigan, 1990. *The New American Standard Exhaustive Concordance of the Bible*, [(Broadman and Holman, Nashville TN, 1981), p. 1529], has 'Yavan,' which designates the son of Japheth and also his descendants and their land. The editor explains the origin of the term as from the same root word as 'Yonah,' a Hebrew word unused in *Bible*, meaning 'dove' or 'pigeon.' According to the *Old Testament*, the whole world sprang from Noah's sons, Shem, Ham, and Japheth, who were born to him after the great flood. The descendants of Japheth were Gomer, Magog, Madai, Javan (English pronunciation for 'Yāwān'), Tubal, Meshech, and Tiras. The descendants of Javan were Elishah, Tarshish, Kittim, and Rodanim. It was by these that the coast-lands of the nations were populated, country by country, each with its respective language, according to the various clans. See *Genesis*, 9 (19), 10 (1-4). The relations of the Hebrews with the Greeks were of a distant kind until the expansion of the Macedonians to the East. Hence, in the *Old Testament* the mention of the Greeks is naturally rare. Apart from *Genesis*, the term 'Yavan' occurs in *The First Book of Chronicles*, I, 5, 7; *Ezekiel*, XXVII, 13, 19; *Isaiah*, LXVI, 19; *Daniel*, VIII, 21; X, 20; XI, 2; *Joel*, III, 6; *Zechariah*, IX, 13. However, there are additional references to the people of Rhodes and Cyprus (Chittim) with whom the Hebrews were better acquainted and of course many references to the Greeks in the *New Testament*.
6. *Śabdakalpadrumah*'s "yauti miśrī bhavatīti" and Svāmī Dayānanda Sarasvatī's "yauti

miśrayatyamiśrayati vā sa yavanaḥ, mletchabhedo vā," as commentaries to "suyuruvṛño yuc." *Uṇādikośa*, II, 74. Also, "yavanaḥ yautīti," *Śabdakalpadrumaḥ* to "nandigrahipacādibhyo lyuṇinyacaḥ." Pāṇini, *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, 3, 1, 134.

7. Cf. Monier-Williams, op. cit., p. 848.
8. Note the description of the horses given as presents by Bhagadatta to Yudhiṣthira and the description of the Sindhu Valley as a place famous for its speedy horses in *Mahābhārata*, Udyoga Parva, XLVII, 14. Note also the connection of the name 'Turvaśa' with 33 horses in *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, (XIII, 5, 4, 16). Keith and Macdonell found the number obscure and quote the *St. Petersburg Dictionary* and Oldenberg where they speak of 6,033 horses. Cf. *VI*, p. 316. E. Pococke [*India in Greece*, (John Griffin, London, 1851, reprint, Oriental Publishers, Delhi, 1972), p. 96, n. 2], who makes many imaginary assertions to prove prehistoric emigration of the Indians to Greece, explains that the Greek word 'Ionian' was derived from the Sanskrit 'Hiyanians' and 'Yavanians' (i.e. 'the horse riders'). The terms 'Yavannat' and 'Yavanu' recorded in late Sinhalese inscriptions are also used in the sense of movement. Cf. *Ep. Zeyl.*, vol. I (1904–12), pp. 47, 97, 235.
9. See, for example, the use of the Sanskrit root √yu to form the name of another country in 'Yava dvīpa' (the island of Java). Note also a possible derivation of the word 'Yona' ('he who was born from the vagina') from the myth of Nandinī.
10. "indravaruṇabhavaśarvarudramṛḍahimāraṇyayavayavanamatulācāryāṇāmānuk." *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, IV, 1, 49.
11. Vārttika 3 to *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, IV, 1, 49.
12. "Yavanāllipyām iti vaktavyaṁ Yavanānīlipiḥ." Bhāṣya to *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, IV, 1, 49.
13. *Pāṇini—His Place in Sanskrit Literature*, (London, 1860, reprint, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Varanasi, 1965), p. 18.
14. P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, (Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1977), vol. V, part 1, p. 516, n. 743.
15. Ibid.
16. Op. cit., p. 13.
17. No common name for the Āryan region is found in the early Upaniṣads. The pañca pañcajanāḥ (five groups of five) in *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, IV, 4, 17, appear to denote merely the five groups of celestial beings (i.e. Gandharvas, fathers, gods, demons, and rākṣasas). The term 'Bhāratam varṣam' occurs for the first time in *Nādabindu*, 12. Cf. Paul Deussen, *The Philosophy of the Upanishads*, (reprint, Oriental Books Reprint Corporation, New Delhi, 1979), p. 215.
18. Cf. "When the fleet was made ready for Alexander on the banks of the Hydaspes, he picked out all the Phoenicians, Cypriotes and Egyptians who had followed the expedition up-country and used them to man his ships. . . . There were also a good many islanders in the army, practised in these things and Ionians and Hellespontines." Arrian, *Indica*, XVIII, 1, 2.
19. The divine cow is known also as Surabhi and Kāmadhenu. She is believed to be the first mother of all cattle and of several human races. She possesses marvellous powers and gives milk whenever it is needed by gods and sages.
20. The Kambojas from her bellowings, the Barbaras from her udders, the Yavanas from her vagina, the Śakas from her anus and the Mlecchas, Haritas and Kirātas from the pores of her body. *Rāmāyaṇa*, Bāla Kāṇda, LV, 2, 3. See also, ibid., LIV, 18–20.
21. Ādi Parva, CLXXVII, 35–37, translated by M.N. Dutt, *Mahābhārata* (in 7 vols.), reprint, Parimal Publications, Delhi, 1988 (1896).
22. See *supra*, chapter 1.
23. *Mahābhārata*, Anuśāsana Parva, XXXIII, 21, (trans. M.N. Dutt).
24. Ibid., XXXV, 17–18.

25. *Manu Smṛti*, X, 43–44, translated by G. Bühler, (SBE, vol. XXV), p. 412.
26. Gautama, *Dharmasūtra*, IV, 20. (SBE, vol. II, p. 196.)
27. II,4, 10.
28. Bhīṣma Parva, IX, 37ff.
29. "uttarāścāparamlecchāḥ krūrā bharatasattama
yavanāścīnakāmbojā dāruṇā mlecchajātayaḥ." Bhīṣma Parva, IX, 65
30. "vāruṇīm diśamāgamya yavanān barbarāṁstathā
nṛpān paścimabhūmisthān dāpayāmāsa vai karān." Vana Parva, CCLIII, 18
31. "tatra mlecchān pulindāṁśca śūrasenāṁstathaiva ca
prasthalān bharatāṁścaiva kurūṁśca saha madrakaiḥ
kambojayavanāṁścaiva śakānāṁ pattanāni ca
anvīkṣya daradāṁścaiva himavantaṁ vicinvatha." Kiṣkindhā Kāṇḍa, XLIII, 11–12
32. For example, Arjuna's brother Sahadeva once brought under his sway the city of the Yavanas by sending messengers and by exacting tribute (Sabhā Parva, XXXI, 72); another brother Nakula defeated the Yavanas (Sabhā Parva, XXXII, 17); in the course of his conquests, Karṇa, a foster brother, once subdued the Sasakas and the Yavanas (Vana Parva, CCLIII, 19–24), etc.
33. "sudakṣiṇaśca kāmbojo yavanaiśca śakaistathā." Udyoga Parva, XIX, 21.
34. *Mahābhārata*, Vana Parva, CLXXXVIII, 34–36, (tr. M.N. Dutt).
35. "The mountaineers like Sivis are very dull. The Yavanas are omniscient, O king and the Suras are particularly so." Karṇa Parva, XLV, 36, (tr. M.N. Dutt).
36. Śānti Parva, CCVII, 43–45.
37. The Kaśerumān Yavana who was killed by Kṛṣṇa (Vana Parva, XII, 31) and the Lord of Yavanas Bagadatta (Sabhā Parva, XIV, 14).
38. Sabhā Parva, XIV, 14.
39. "pragjyotiṣādhipaḥ śūro mlecchānāmadhipo balī
yavanaiḥ sahito rājā bhagadatto mahārathaḥ." Sabhā Parva, LI, 14
40. The son of Pṛthvī (mother earth) and Viṣṇu in his boar incarnation. Compare with the birth of the mighty Typhon who is said to have leapt from Earth's side. Hesiod, *Theogony*, 295–32.
41. Udyoga Parva, XLVIII, 80–85.
42. "prāgjyotiṣe'bhiṣekṣyāmi naptāraṁ bhagadattakam." *Kālikā Purāṇa*, XL, 114
43. "muraṁ ca narakaṁ caiva śasti." Sabhā Parva, XIV, 14
44. Droṇa Parva, XXIX, 42–45.
45. Aśvamedha Parva, LXXV, 1.
46. "tatra pragjyotiṣaṁ nāma jātarūpamayaṁ puram yasmin vasati duṣṭātmā narako nāma dānavaḥ." Kiṣkindhā Kāṇḍa, 30
47. For example, *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, LVII, 44; *Kālikā Purāṇa*, XXXVIII, 160; *Raghuvaṁśa*, IV, 81.
48. Sabhā Parva, XXVI, 9.
49. 10, LIX, 1–3.
50. Ādi Parva, LXVII, 9.
51. Sabhā Parva, XIV, 14.
52. Ibid., XXVI, 15.
53. Ādi Parva, CLXXXV, 12.
54. Ādi Parva, LXVII, 17. In this gathering of distant people and strange beings the Romakas (an Indian tribe according to the Indian tradition; the Romans according to some historians) are also mentioned.
55. "O child! I'm the friend of Indra, I'm scarcely inferior to him in battle, (but) I cannot stand before you." Sabhā Parva, XXVI, 12. The same description is given to him at the time of his death, "nihatya taṁ narapatimindravikramaṁ sakhāyamindrasya

tadaiindrarāhave." DroṇaParva, XXIX, 51.

56. "vaiṣṇavāstramudīrayan abhimantrayāṅkuśaṁ." Droṇa Parva, XXIX, 17.

57. Āśramavāsika Parva, XX, 10.

58. *Kālikā Purāṇa*, XXXVIII, 157.

59. Both references "Aṅtiy[o*]ko yona-rājā" and "Aṅtiyoko nama [yo]na-raja" are in Prākṛta language, the first in Brāhmī and the second in Kharoṣṭhī script. See *SI*, I, pp. 19, 35ff.; *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, pp. 66, 77 (Hultzsch); *Ep. Ind.*, II (1894), pp. 246 ff. (Bühler); Sen, op. cit., p. 103, (Kālsī version).

60. "[a] ṣaṣu pi yojana-śa[te]su yatra aṁtiyoko nama [yo]naraja paraṁ ca tena a(*)-tiyo[ke]na cature (4) rajani turamaye nama aṅtikini nama maka nama alikasudaro nama nica coḍa-paṇḍa ava ta[ṁ]bapaṁ[ṇi]ya."

61. "[De]vadevasa Vā[sude*]vasa garuḍadhvaje ayaṁ (1) kārite i[a] Heliodoreṇa bhāga-(2) vatena Diyasa putreṇa Takhkhasilākena (3) Yona-dūtena [ā] gatena mahārājasa (4) Aṁtalikitasa apa [ṁ*]tā sakāsaṁ raño (5) [Ko]sipu[tra]sa [Bh]āgabhadrasa tratārasa [6] vasena ca[tu]daserima rājena vadhamānasa [II*] (7)
Part II
trini amuta-padāni [ia*] [su]-anuṭhitāni (1) neyaṅti [svagaṁ] dama cāga apramāda [II*](2)."
The Garuḍa pillar (Stele of Heliodoros) with the Brāhmī inscription in Prākṛta language was found in Besnagar (Gwalior district, state of Madhya Pradesh). *SI*, I, pp. 90–1. Cf. *Memoirs of ASI*, no 1, pl. II; *ASI, Annual Report*, 1908–9.

62. "Nathi cā ṣe janapade yatā nathi ime nikāyā-ānatā Yoneṣu-baṁhmane cā, ṣamane cā." According to Kālsī, Māsehrā, and Girnār versions, see Sen, op. cit., p. 98.

63. "[i*] [e] vameva [hi]da raja-viṣavaspi yonaka[ṁ]boyeṣu nabhaka-nabhtitina-bhoja pitinikeṣu aṅdhra palideṣu savatradevanaṁpriyasadhramanuśasti anuvataṅti [i*] yatra pi devanaṁpriyasa duta na vracaṅti te pi śrutu devanaṁpryasadhrama-vuṭam vidhanaṁ ghramanuśasti dhramaṁ [a]nuvidhiyaṅti anuvidhiyiśaṁ[ti] ca [i*] yo [sa] ladhe etakena bho[ti] savatra vijayo sava[tra] pu[na]." (Hultzsh Version.) For the complete text and notes on other versions, see *SI*, I, p. 35. Cf. *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, pp. 66, 77 (Hultzsch); *Ep. Ind.*, II, pp. 246 ff (Bühler); Sen, op. cit., p. 103, (Kālsī version).

64. "The Stathmoi Partikoi and the Greek Culture in Arachosia," *Yavanika*, no. 2 (1992), pp. 58–59.

65. Cf. O. Stein, "Yavanas in Early Indian Inscriptions," *IC*, I, no. 3 (1935), pp. 343–57.

66. Written in Prākṛta resembling Pāli language in Brāhmī script. *SI*, I, pp. 208 ff; and *Ep. Ind.*, XX (1929–30), pp. 72 ff.

67. "Madhuraṁ apayāto Yavana rāj[ā] D[i]mi[ta]." *Ep. Ind.*, XX, pp. 72 ff. Sten Konow reads 'Dimita.' The reading 'Yavanarāja' is clear, but 'Dimita' or 'Dimita' is doubtful. *SI*, I, p. 208, n. 9.

68. *Ep. Ind.*, XX, pp. 72 ff.

69. "Demetrios, Kharavela and the Garga Saṁhitā," *JBORS*, XIV (1928), pp. 127–28.

70. Hemchandra Raychaudhari, *Political History of Ancient India*, (University of Calcutta, 1953), p. 378.

71. "Aśokasya Mauryasya (kṛ*)te yavanarājena tuṣ[ā]sphenādhiṣṭhāya." *SI*, I, p. 171; and *Ep. Ind.*, VII (1902–3), pp. 41ff. The name of the Yavanarāja Tuṣapha occurs on the eighth line of the Junāgarh Rock Inscription of Rudradāman I (c. AD 150) found near the mountain Girnār in Gujarat. The text is in Sanskrit written in Brāhmī script.

72. A.K. Majumdar, *Concise History of Ancient India*, (Munshiram Manoharlal Publ., New Delhi, 1977), vol. 1, p. 156, n. 25.

73. "Dhenukākatā Dhaṁma-Yavanasa." Senart believed that the term 'Dhammayavana' could be used for an 'upright Yavana' and that the text could therefore be translated as 'an upright Yavana from Dhênukākata.' Probably the donor was a member of a Yavana

Buddhist community and with modesty, omitted writing his own name. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, VII, p. 55. Stein has questioned this interpretation on the ground that the term 'Dhaṁmayavana' could not be used in singular form if it designated a community and therefore, the term 'Dhaṁmayavana' suggests a name. Cf. *IC*, I, no. 3, p. 347.

74. "Dhênukakaṭa Yavaṇasa (1) Sihadhayāna(ṁ*) thaṁbho dānaṁ (2)." [(This) pillar (is) the gift of the Yavana Sidadhaya from Dhênukākaṭa.] *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII (1926), p. 327, inscription no. VII. See also, *IC*, I, no. 3, p. 344.
75. "Dhênukākaṭa Chulayakhan[āṁ] (1) [Ya]vaṇasa thabht dānaṁ (2)." [(This) pillar (is) the gift of the Yavana Chulayakha from Dhênukākaṭā.] *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII (1926), p. 327, inscription no. VI.
76. "Dhênukākaṭā Yavanasa (1) Yasuvadhanāna[ṁ] (2) thabht dānaṁ (3)." [(This) pillar (is) the gift of the Yavana Yasavadhana from Dhênukākaṭā.] *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII (1926), p. 328, inscription no. X. See also, *IC*, I, no. 3, p. 348.
77. "Dhênukākaṭā Ya[va]ṇasa Dhamadha (1) yānaṁ thabht dānaṁ (2)." [(This) pillar (is) the gift of the Yavana Dhamadhaya from Dhênukākaṭā.] *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII (1926), p. 326, inscription no. IV. See also, *IC*, I, no. 3, p. 348.
78. "Umêhanākaṭā Yavanasa (1) Viṭasa[ṁ*]gatānaṁ dānaṁ thabht." [(This) pillar (is) the gift of the Yavana Viṭasaṁgata from Umêhanākaṭa.] *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII (1926), p. 325, inscription no. I.
79. *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, vol. IV, no. 5, p. 92. The comparison of the name 'Irila' with the Greek 'Euryalos' [*Ind. Ant.*, 1911 (Jan.), pp. 11–14; and Banerji, op. cit., p. 18] is not convincing, especially when we consider that no other Yavana names are Greek.
80. *IC*, I, no. 3, pp. 348–50.
81. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, VIII (1905–6), p. 90.
82. *Ep. Ind.*, II, (1894), p. 395.
83. The inscription was found on the remains of the great Stūpa of Kaniṣka near Peshawar. See *JRAS*, 1909, p. 1058.
84. "Theudorena Meridarkhena Pratiṭhavidra." The inscription was found on a relic vase in the Swāt Valley; now in the Punjab Museum. *SI*, I, p. 109; *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, 1, p. 4.
85. *IC*, I, no. 3, p. 352.
86. See *supra*, chapter 2.
87. "Dhênukākaṭā Rôhamitêha chu[la] (1) pêtukasa Agilasa athā- (2) ya thabht kāritt (3)." [(This) pillar was caused to be made by Rôhamita from Dhênukākaṭā, for the sake of Agila, a resident of Chulapêtu(?).] *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII (1926), pp. 326, 327, inscription no. V.
88. *ASI*, *Annual Report 1914–15*, pp. 77, 83.
89. The inscription is in Bactrian and Greek language written in Greek script; the Greek part reads "ΔΙΑ ΠΑΛΑΜΗΔΟΥΣ," meaning 'through Palamedes,' *Journal Asiatique*, 1954, p. 195, n. 4. Cf. B.N. Mukherjee, "Palamedes of a Surkh-Kotal Inscription," *Yavanika*, no. 4, pp. 91–94.
90. Sanskrit University, MS. no. 15459, p. 433. Quoted in G.R. Sharma, *Reh Inscription of Menander and the Indo-Greek Invasion of the Gaṅgā Valley*, (Studies in History, Culture and Archaeology, vol. 1, University of Allahabad, Abinash Prakashan, Allahabad, 1980), p. 56.
91. The text reads "teṣam trayodaśa sutāḥ bhavitāvaśca Bāhlikāḥ (1) Puṣpanidro' tha rājanyo Damitro' sya tathaiva ca (2)." Sharma, *Reh Inscription of Menander and the Indo-Greek Invasion of the Gaṅgā Valley*, p. 56.
92. The Yakṣas are known in the Vedic, Buddhist, Jain, epic, and later Indian literature as supernatural demons often associated with dance, music, and wine. They sometimes

granted the fulfilment of worldly desires, especially for progeny, health, and wealth. However, some Yakṣas caused trouble by killing innocent people and by enjoying sexual intercourse with human maidens. A statue of a wine-drinking Yakṣa king in the form of a fat nude man plied with drink by maidens [now in Mathura Museum, see Varadpande, op. cit., pl. 82] portrays close similarities to the story of Silenus and the paradise of Kuvera. This gives further ground for the possibility of the Indians having in certain cases confused the Yakṣas with worshippers of Dionysos. Anamika Roy (*Yavanika*, no. 4, p. 98) has translated the name 'Chulayakha' of the Yavana donor depicted on a pillar at Karle, as 'Cula Yakṣa' to support her thesis that certain Nāga and Yakṣa artists were Yavanas. In *Sutta Nipāta* (Hemavata sutta, Ālavaka sutta, Sūciloma sutta) we meet with several Yakkhas who became followers of Buddha.

93. "Kṛmiśa and Demetrius," *IHQ*, XXII (1946), no. 2, pp. 81–91.
94. *Reh Inscription of Menander and the Indo-Greek Invasion of the Gaṅgā Valley*, p. 63.
95. "Kṛmiśa and Demetrius," op. cit., pp. 81–82.
96. *Reh Inscription of Menander and the Indo-Greek Invasion of the Gaṅgā Valley*, p. 64. References are from Tāranātha, *History of Buddhism in India*, (Indian Institute of Advanced Studies, Simla, 1977), p. 46.
97. Śānti Parva, CCVII, 43–45.
98. The *Yuga Purāṇa* mentions Śāliśuka after Udāyī, the founder of Pāṭaliputra, though the order given in *Viṣṇu* and other Purāṇas, places him as the fourth Mauryaking after Aśoka and the fourth before Puṣyamitra, which seems to be more appropriate.
99. "Yavanā jñāpayiṣya(n)ti [naśyeran] ca pārthivāḥ. madhyadeśe na sthāsyanti yavanā yuddhadurmadā. teṣāmanyonya-saṁbhāva(ṁ) bhaviṣyati na saṁśayaḥ. ātmacakrotthitaṁ ghoraṁ yuddhaṁ paramadāruṇaṁ. tato yugavaśātteṣāṁ yavanānāṁ parijñaye. s(ā)kete saptarājāno bhaviṣyanti mahābalāḥ." ll. 41–46, Jayaswal's version and translation (*JBORS*, vol. XIV, 1928, pp. 403, 411).
100. Cf. D.C. Sircar, *Studies in the Yuga Purāṇa and other Texts*, (Oriental Publishers, Delhi, 1974), pp. 1ff.
101. Ibid., p. 6.
102. *JBORS*, vol. XIV, p. 127.
103. "A Critically Edited Text of the Yuga Purāṇa," *JUPHS*, vol. XX, (1947), p. 39.
104. Op. cit., p. 177.
105. XLI, 6, 4.
106. "εἴ γε καὶ τὸν Ὕπανιν διέβη πρὸς ἕω, καὶ μέχρι τοῦ Ἰμάου προῆλθε." Strabo, XI, 11, 1.
107. "καὶ πλείω ἔθνη κατεστρέψαντο Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ μάλιστα Μένανδρος τὰ μὲν αὐτὸς τὰ δὲ Δημήτριος Εὐθυδήμου υἱός, τοῦ Βακτρίων Βασιλέως." Ibid.
108. "καὶ εἴ τινα προσιστόρησαν οἱ μετ' ἐκεῖνον (Alexander) προελθόντες μέχρι τοῦ Γάγγου καὶ Παλιβόθρων." Strabo, XV, 1, 27.
109. "Reliqua (itenera) Seleucos Nicatori peragrata sunt." *Nat. Hist.*, VI, 17.
110. See B.N. Puri, *India in Classical Greek Writings*, (New Order Book Company, Ahmedabad, 1963), pp. 29, 39.
111. See, V.S. Agrawala, "An Ancient Reference of Menander's Invasion," *IHQ*, vol. XXIX, (1953), no. 2, pp. 180–82.
112. III, 2, 3.
113. *Mahābhāṣya*, I, 4, 10.
114. S. Chattopadhyaya, *Early History of North India*, (Progressive Publishers, Calcutta, 1958), p. 2.
115. "iha puṣyamitraṁ yājayāmaḥ." *Mahābhāṣya*, III, 2, 123.
116. The inscription was found in 1979 on the bottom of a pillar in Reh, a village situated approximately 350 km. east of Mathura in the district Fatehpur, Uttar Pradesh. The

fragmentary inscription reads: 1 1. Mahārājasa rājarājasa, 1. 2. Mahāmtasa trātārasa dhāmmi, 1. 3. Kasa Jayamtasa ca apra, I. 4. (jitasa) Mināṇada [de ?] rasa; which is an exact translation of the Greek: Basileos Basileon, Megalou Soteros, Dikaiou Nikephorou kai Aniketou Menandrou. See Sharma, op. cit. The name 'Mināṇada' (Mineḍa), however, is not clear. Only the first and last letters are legible.
117. LVII, 13–15. Quoted by Raychaudhari, op. cit., p. 10.
118. *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, LVIII, 52. Pargiter (*Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, Calcutta, 1904, p. 377 n.) suggests that this is so because in later times Yavana settlements were widespread. This reminds us once more of the connection between Bhagadatta and the Yavanas.
119. "yavanāśca kirātāśca tasyānte pūrvapaścime." *Matsya Purāṇa*, CXIV, 11. References to the Eastern Yavanas are also found in *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, 2, III, 8; *Kūrma Purāṇa*, 1, ILVII, 26; *Vāyu Purāṇa*, ILVIII, 115–19; *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, 2, XVI, 12; *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, LVIII, 48.
120. *Matsya Purāṇa*, CXIV, 4. *Vide Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, 2, XVI, 47.
121. *Matsya Purāṇa*, CXXI, 43. The mleccha countries mentioned are: Kukur, Randhra, Barbara, Yavana, Khaśa, Pulika, Kulattha and Angalokya.
122. I, II, 39, 161 (II).
123. *Padma Purāṇa*, 3, VI, 336–65.
124. For example, *Matsya Purāṇa*, L, 76; *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, 9, XX, 30.
125. For example, *Matsya Purāṇa*, CXXI, 43; CXLIV, 57.
126. 7, VII, 56–63.
127. Kane, op. cit., vol. I, part I, pp. 261, 326, part II, p. 806; IV, p.117.
128. *Padma Purāṇa*, 6, CXCIII, 28–42.
129. "bhaviṣyantīha yavanādharmataḥ kāmato'rthantaḥ." *Matsya Purāṇa*, CCLXXIII, 25. Dharma (religion), Kāma (pleasure) and Arthaḥ (wealth) were included, but the fourth aim of life (puruṣārtha) known as Mokṣa (liberation) has been omitted. *Vide Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, 3, LXXIV, 200.
130. CCLXXIII, 19–20.
131. 12, I, 30.
132. Also, Kilakila, Kolakila, Kolikila, as it is variously read. Sir William Jones (*JRAS*, vol. IV, p. 282) thought that it was the city Kilagila. Cf. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, (Wilson ed.), p. 380, n. 1. C.V. Vaidya (*Mediaeval Hindu India*, vol. 1, p. 35) thinks that they settled in Andhra, since according to Sir William Hunter (*Orissa*, vol. 1, pp. 206ff.) these Yavanas claimed to be of Āndhran descent. For references, see *IHQ*, vol. IV (3–4), p. 750, n. 1.
133. 2, IV, 18.
134. Cf. S.C. Banerji, *A Brief History of Tantra Literature*, (Naya Prokash, Calcutta, 1988), p. 164.
135. 4, XXVII, 19–30.
136. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, 9, L, 44; *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, 5, XXIII, 6. According to *Padma Purāṇa* (6, CXLVI, 33–60), Kṛṣṇa and Rāma came out of Mathura to fight with Kālayavana. Rāma destroyed his army and Kṛṣṇa caused the death of Kālayavana by bringing him into the cave of Mucukunda.
137. According to Paurānic mythology, the gods had promised that anyone who disturbed the sleep of King Mucukunda would be burnt to ashes. Thus, Kṛṣṇa had accidentally, or more probably cleverly, vanquished his enemy by entering the cave in which Mucukunda was sleeping. See *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, 10, LI, 14–22.
138. *Studies in Skanda Purāṇa*, (Kailash Prakashan, Lucknow, 1966), part I, p. 52.
139. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, 2, III, pp. 142, n. 4, p. 160, n. 144.
140. *SI*, II, p. 138, n. 12a

141. *Alberuni's India*, vol. II, p. 5.
142. *Matsya Purāṇa*, CILIV, 54–58.
143. 2, XXXI, 77–84.
144. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, 4, III, 21ff; *Śiva Purāṇa*, XXXVIII, 30–45; *Padma Purāṇa*, 6, XX, 25–36; *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, 9,VIII, 5; *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, 3, ILVIII, 23–48.
145. *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p 59ff; *SI*, I, p. 196. Cf. *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, vol. V, p. 110.
146. *IHQ*, vol. IV (3–4), p. 749.
147. *AI*, II, p.21.
148. For commercial and cultural contacts between the Roman world and India, sec *Ancient Rome and India*, edited by Rosa Maria Cimino, Instituto Italiano Per Il Medio Ed Estremo Oriente, Rome, Italian Embassy Cultural Centre, New Delhi, 1994; India and Italy (Exhibition organised in collaboration with the Archaeological Survey of India and the Indian Council of Cultural Relations), (Catalogue by R.M. Cimino and F. Scialpi), Italian Embassy Cultural Centre, New Delhi, ISMEO, Rome, 1974; Tarn and Griffith, op. cit., pp. 239–67; J.W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as Described by Ptolemy*, (Chuckcrvertty, Chatterjee & Co., Calcutta, 1927); Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, chap. VI.
149. *Çilappatikaram*, trans. Vr. Ramachandra Diksitar, [the South India Saiva Siddhanta Works Publishing Society, 1978 (1939)], p. 376.
150. *The Shilappadikaram*, (Penguin Classics, 1993), pp. 18, 94.
151. *The Çilappatikaram*, pp. 121, 229.
152. *IC*, II (1935), p. 574.
153. Cf. *Ep. Zeyl.*, vol. I, p. 26, n. 10 and p. 248, n. 7.
154. Ibid., p. 248, n. 7.
155. *Alberuni's India*, vol. I, p. 299.
156. Ibid., p. 302.
157. Ibid., p. 306.
158. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. IV (1896–97), p. 252; *SI*, II, p. 63.
159. *SI*, II, p. 92.
160. *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, vol. VI, *Inscriptions of the Śilāhāras*, p. 115, inscription no. 19, pl. XLVI–L.
161. "sa gargga-yavanānbaya-pralaya-kālarudro nṛpaḥ." Ibid., p. 135.
162. *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 311.
163. *IHQ*, vol. VII (3–4), p. 709; A.K. Majumdar, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 430; *JRAS*, XLV, p. 250.
164. See Jamil Ahmad and Hakim Ashhar Qadeer, *Unani—The Science of Graeco-Arabic Medicine*, Roli Books, New Delhi, 1999.
165. Sce, for cxample, the terms 'sun' (ἥλιυς, Sk. heli), 'diameter' (διάμετρον, Sk. jāmitra), 'hour' (ὥρα, Sk. Horā), etc. (Sec Burrow, op. cit., p. 388), and the names of the zodiacs 'Aries' (Κριός, Sk. Kriya), 'Taurus' (Ταῦρος, Sk. Tāvuri and Tavuru), 'Gemini' (Δίδυμος, Sk. Jituma, Jutuma or Jitma), 'Cancer' (Καρκίνος, Sk. Kulira?), 'Leo' (Λέων, Sk. Leya), 'Virgo' (Παρθένος, Sk. Kumārī, Pāthona or Pāthena?), 'Libra' (Ζυγός, Sk. Jūka), 'Scorpio' (Σκορπιός, Sk. Kaurpya or Kaurpi), 'Sagittarius' (Τοξότης, Sk. Taukṣika or Taukṣa), 'Capricorn' (Αἰγόκερως, Sk. Ākokera), 'Aquarius' (ὑδροχόος, Sk. hṛdroga), 'Pisces' (Ἰχθύς, Sk. Ittha). Cf. Kane, op. cit., vol. V, part I, p. 563; also A.B. Keith, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, [Oxford Univ. Press, Bombay, 1953(1920)], p. 530. Furthermore, the astrological symbols, such as Sun, Leo, Venus, Aquarius, Sagittarius, Libra, Scorpio, Conjunction, etc., depicted on the Indian 'punch marked' silver coins (found mainly in the Taxila hoard) are similar to those used by the Greeks. Cf. Sharma, *Early Indian Symbols—Numismatic Evidence*, plate 9a and b.
166. Cf. Kane, op. cit., vol. V, part I, p. 594; F. Rochberg-Halton, "Elements of the

Babylonian Contribution to Hellenic Astrology," *JAOS*, vol. 108, no. 1, (March 1988), pp. 51ff.

167. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, pp. 56–59.
168. *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 530.
169. Cf. Winternitz, op. cit., vol. III, pt. II, p. 696, n. 384.
170. S.N. Dasgupta and S.K. De, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, (University of Calcutta, 1962), vol. I, p. 772.
171. "mlecchā hi yavanās teṣu samyak śāstram idaṁ sthitam ṛṣivat te'pi pūjyante, kiṁ punar daivavid dvijaḥ." *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, II, 15.
172. *Bṛhajjātaka*, XXVII, 2, 19, 21. Cf. Kane, op. cit., vol. V, part I, p. 582. Many of his views, however, differ from those of the Yavanas in substantial matters. See ibid., pp. 516, 563, 601 n.
173. Ibid., p. 562, n. 836.
174. Ibid., pp. 573, n. 858, 577. n. 862, 591.
175. *Alberuni's India*, vol. I, p. 153.
176. Ibid., p. 158.
177. Cf. "The discovery of the remains of a Greek theatre by Th. Bloch in the Sitavenga Cave is of doubtful value to infer Greek theatrical influence." Dasgupta, op. cit., vol. I, p. 54. But, "Some scholars point at Sitabenga cave on Ramgarh hill in Madhya Pradesh and the rectangular amphitheatre excavated at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa in Andhra Pradesh as evidence of Indian theatre structures inspired by Greek models." Varadpande, op. cit., p. 227. Nāgārjunakoṇḍa was an ancient Buddhist centre of learning, but is situated too far from Bactria for us to assume any direct influence. Perhaps it was constructed by Greek and Roman traders who came south by sea-routes. The brick-built amphitheatre has perfect acoustics and a pillar with the statue of Dionysos has also been found nearby. See ibid., pp. 227–34. For thematic similarities between Greek and Indian plays, the use of chorus, masks, etc., see ibid., pp. 242–49, 251; R.L. Singal, *Aristotle and Bharata: A Comparative Study of Their Theories of Drama*, Chandigarh, 1977; Asha Saxena, *Ancient Greek and Indian Theatre*, Parimal Publications, New Delhi, 1977; Bharat Gupt, *Dramatic Concepts: Greek and Indian*, D.K. Printworld, New Delhi, 1994.
178. *The Sanskrit Drama in its Origin, Development, Theory and Practice*, [Oxford Univ. Press, Oxford, 1954 (1924)], p. 61.
179. See Indu Shekhar, *Sanskrit Drama: Its Origin and Decline* (E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1960, reprint, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, New Delhi, 1997), p. 54, where he quotes *Amarakośa* (II, 6, 120) and *Halāyudhakośa* (II, 154) to prove that in *Nāṭyaśāstra* the sound 'y' and 'j' are often interchangeable. The former was followed by the great master Abhinavagupta and the form 'Yavanikā' was established.
180. Note the alternative use of the terms 'Yuvanī' and 'Yavanī,' in various readings of Kālidāsa's 'Yavanīmukhapadmānā' (*Raghuvaṁśa*, IV, 61), where the lotus-faces of the young (Yavanī) women have been described. The Sinhalese term 'yōnan' has also sometimes the meaning of 'maiden.' For example, 'pura-yōnan' (city maidens) and 'nava-yōnan' (young maidens). This caused Wickremasinghe to suggest a possible derivation of the terms 'yon,' 'yohon,' and 'yona' from Sanskrit 'Yuvan.' Cf. *Ep. Zeyl.*, vol. I, p. 248, n. 7.
181. It is important to note here that the term 'Mughal' was used almost indiscriminately in India to designate Tartars, Mughals, Turks, Tajiks (Persians) and other Muslim invaders. Cf. H.G. Keene, *The Turks in India*, reprint, Idarah-i-Adabiyāt-i Delli, Delhi, 1972, pp. 9–11.
182. For example, see M.I. Khan, "Contribution of Indian Muslims to Sanskrit," (Read in the Seventh World Sanskrit Conference, Leiden, August 23–29, 1987), *Indologica*

Taurensia, vols. XV–XVI, (Torino, 1989–90), pp. 207–13; Sultan Shahin, "Spiritual Symbiosis—Links between Islam and Hinduism," *The Times of India*, July 28, 1998; Sures Chandra Banerji, "Contribution of Muslims to Sanskrit Literature," *A Companion to Sanskrit Literature*, (Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1971), Appendix V.

183. Sūrah XXIII, 82.
184. For example, "How disbelieve ye in Allah when ye were dead and He gave life to you! Then He will give you death, then life again, and then unto Him ye will return." Sūrah II, 28.
185. The use of Akbar's name who is described as a messenger of God in the text, leaves no doubt of its having been written in the time of the emperor. See Rajendralala Mitra, "The Alla Upaniṣad, a spurious chapter of the Atharva Veda," *JRAS*, no. III, 1871. (Text, translation, and notes.)

CHAPTER 4

Demetrios Galanos (1760–1833)
The First Greek Indologist

THE FIRST YEARS

Demetrios Galanos, the 'Athenian,' is the first and most eloquent Greek scholar in modern times to have widely contributed to the knowledge of India's literary, philosophical and religious traditions. He was born in 1760 to a middle class family living in Athens, which at the time was a small town under Ottoman rule. His father, Pandoleon and his mother Diamanto, had three sons and one daughter named Karyia. His elder brother died as a child and his younger brother, Philaretos, became the manager of his father's property. Demetrios' education began in Athens under the guidance of the well-known teacher Ioannis Benizelos. At the age of fourteen he was sent to study in Messolonghion,[1] a commercial centre on the West coast of Greece which had close ties to Greek merchants in Venice. In Messolonghion he was able to study with the distinguished grammarian Panagiotes Palamas.[2] After four years Galanos left Messolonghion to continue his studies at the Orthodox Seminary of the Saint John Theologos Monastery on the island of Patmos.[3] There he studied ancient Greek, philosophy, Latin, oratory and ecclesiastical music for six years. The principal of the school was the renowned philologist Daniel Kerameus. Galanos later acknowledged the gratitude he felt for his early teachers in letters that he wrote while living in Varanasi and hearing of their death, "O Daniel, O Daniel, O Daniel! Extinguished is the lustre of the Hellenic eye!" and offered warm praises for Palamas, "O Palama! . . . the miracle of the entire Greece!"[4]

Having completed his studies, Galanos went to Constantinople to meet his uncle Gregorios who was at the time Metropolitan of Caesarea and Protothronos of the Holy Synod at Constantinople. While working in Constantinople as a tutor to resident Greek children, he met Madratzoglou, a merchant and agent to the Bengali Greeks in Constantinople. This meeting was to play a decisive role in Galanos' life. Madratzoglou found him ideal for tutoring the children of the Greek merchants who had settled in Narayanganj (near Dhaka) and Calcutta and offered him a position as a teacher there.[5] Galanos, eager to expand his knowledge, gladly accepted

Madratzoglou's offer and prepared himself for his journey to the East; ". . . to carry the torch of the paternal education to the Greeks in India, and to send back from there to Hellas a few sparks of the 'light of Asia,'" in the words of Gennadios.[6] Galanos of course had no idea then that he would never again return to see his fatherland.

GALANOS IN INDIA

Galanos left Constantinople to visit the Holy Monastery of St. Catherine at Mount Sinai which was providing the priests to the Greek community in Bengal. From Mount Sinai he travelled overland to Basra where he took a ship for Calcutta. After a journey of six months, Galanos, aged twenty-six, arrived in Bengal in 1786. There he served as a Greek teacher for six years. His close friend and patron was Constantinos Pandazes, an immigrant from Epiros and president of the Greek community. At that time Bengal was witnessing an influential mix of western and Indian ideas which were later to induce the social and religious reforms of the 'Brahmo Samāj' movement, founded in 1828 by Rājā Rāma Mohan Roy (1772–1833). The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal had already been founded in 1784 and several western scholars were interested in the study of Sanskrit language and literature.[7] It is quite possible that Galanos met with these intellectuals and began there his personal study of Indian languages and literature. He was fascinated by their colourful and devotional appeal and, having attained sufficient resources,[8] retired from his job to dedicate himself solely to study.

In 1793, Demetrios Galanos departed for the city of Varanasi.[9] In Benares his counsellor and adviser was the Munśī (administrator) of the king of Benares, Śītal Prasād Sinh.[10] Through Śītal Prasād, Galanos was introduced to the king of Benares (also known as Kāśī Nareśa), Mahārāja Udita Nārāyaṇa Sinh and inspired by his advice and help, he soon became an outstanding master of the 'language of the gods' (devabhāṣā). His main Sanskrit teachers were Kandardāsa (?Candradāsa) of 'Kāśī, the city of the Brāhmaṇas,' (whom Galanos mentions in a short note attached to the manuscript of his translation of the *Bhagavadgītā*) and Paṇḍit Sue Rām (? Śiva Rāma), (whom he mentions in his last will).

Notable among the few foreigners associated with Galanos was the Russian, Peter Federoff. Bishop Heber writes of him: "There is also a Russian here, who by a natural affinity lives much with the Greek. He is, however, a trader, and has apparently moved in a much humbler rank of society than his friend."[11] Federoff died in Benares and his tomb was erected by Galanos. The inscription on the tombstone reads: "SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF PETER FEDEROFF Native of Rufsia Who died in the prime of Life on the 4th Jan.y. 1825," and follows in Greek, "Ο ΞΕΝΟΣ Δ. ΓΑΛΑΝΟΣ ΤΩ

ΞΕΝΩ ΠΕΤΡΩ ΤΩ ΡΩΣΣΩ." (The foreigner D. Galanos to the foreigner Peter the Russian.)

Galanos' character, behaviour and circumstances in Benares are related in Anglican Bishop Heber's *Narrative of a Journey Through the Upper Provinces,* written in 1824. He writes about Galanos, without mentioning his name:

> Among them (i.e., the Europeans living in Varanasi) is a Greek, a well-informed and well-mannered man, who has fixed himself here for many years, living on his means, whatever they are, and professing to study the Sanskrit. I heard a good deal of him afterwards in Allahabad, and was much struck by the singularity and mystery of his character and situation. He is a very good scholar in the ancient language of his country and speaks good English, French, and Italian. His manners are those of a gentleman, and he lives like a person at his ease. He has little intercourse with the English, but he is on very friendly terms with the principal Hindu families. He was once an object of suspicion to Government, but after watching him for a long time they saw nothing in his conduct to confirm their suspicions, and during Lord Hastings' first Pindaree war, he voluntarily gave, on different occasions, information of much importance. So few Europeans, however, who can help it, reside in India, that it seems strange that any man should prefer it as a residence, without some stronger motive than a fondness for Sanskrit literature, more particularly since he does not appear to meditate any work on the subject.[12]

Later, some of his compatriots questioned whether he had become a Hindu, because he had adopted Indian dress, befriended Brāhmaṇas and had a passionate interest in Sanskrit language and literature. In support of these suspicions, there is a curious remark in the biographical section of the *Indikon Metaphraseon Prodromos*[13] which states that Galanos became a Brāhmaṇa and was honoured as a scholar and saint by Indians and Europeans alike. This statement (that he became a Brāhmaṇa) is probably not true, because a person is a Brāhmaṇa only by birth.

Evidence that Galanos continued to retain his Christian faith throughout his life is found in his correspondence with Greek priests in Calcutta, and Greece.[14] Further, his last will starts out with the standard Christian formula, "In the Name of God. Amen" and contains precise directions to be buried in a Christian cemetery. The majority of Hindus are cremated.

Nicholas Kephalas, a Greek captain from Zanta (island of Zakynthos), who visited Galanos in Varanasi, thought that the reason the wise Athenian studied and adopted Brahmanic customs was to thoroughly understand and learn the noble and moral way of life of the Brāhmaṇas. He also said that in spite of all these things, Galanos remained a devout Christian and pointed out the fact that the Hindus do not accept apostates. The ease with which this extraordinary and well educated stranger was moving in Indian

society, however, could be seen as an indication that his vision was fixed beyond ideological boundaries.

Kephalas succeeded in gaining the trust of Galanos, who gave him his manuscript of the translation of *Cāṇakya*, to be delivered to the Greek authorities in Peloponnesos. Kephalas, instead, gave that Sanskrit text to the Vatican Library; he then initiated, in 1825 its first European publication, combining the Greek translation with an Italian one under his own name. In the introduction of the text Kephalas presents himself as a brave traveller who, in his long journeys, met with Brāhmaṇas from whom he received Sanskrit texts of great value. He does not forget, however, to mention the 'help' Galanos extended to him:

> I found myself in this city and conversing with the wisest and most profound men; I happened to encounter a famous Brahmin, Gajanoung, who presented me with a little book entitled, *Sommaria di sentenze morali del filosofo indiano Sanakea*. This philosopher is the most respected among the Indians, and some believe that he flourished at the time of the Rama-Pritarà dynasty, which dates back to the year 2641 BC. The said book is written in the sacred Sanskrit dialect. . . . But it was my good fortune to find the Greek philosopher Demetrios Galanos from Athens, who had been living in India for 35 years. A man outstanding in sciences and literatures, and in addition to Greek, in Latin, English, and other European and Oriental languages also most erudite in the Sanskrit dialect and in the secrets of the Indians, honoured widely by Brahmins and travellers for his wisdom no less than for his righteousness. [This gentleman] I asked to assist me in translating [the book] into our mother tongue and he, good compatriot that he was, consented, since Sanakea was not yet known in any European language.[15]

Kephalas himself, published one more book about India under the long title, '*Description of the City of Benares in India, of Indian Polytheism, its Cult, and the Customs of those People written by Captain Nikolo Kephalas a Greek from Zanta During his Journey at the Year 1824. Published by Himself and Illustrated with a Geographical Map of India of his own Design.*'[16] In this book, the author speaks once again with favourable words for Galanos:

> In the research which I made at Benares in regard to the Indian religion, I was greatly assisted by the philosopher D. Galanos . . . a most respectable and capable man, who, following in the footsteps of Pythagoras and Plato, had initiated himself into all the Indian Mysteries, and who will one day enrich Europe through his profound knowledge and discoveries.[17]

Kephalas' mischief, which incidentally made *Cāṇakya* known in Europe, was short-lived, as a few years later the manuscripts of Galanos arrived in Greece and his usurpation was discovered. In the manuscript of *Cāṇakya* (MS. no. 1855) now kept in the National Library of Greece, there

is a letter that reads (in translation): "D. Galanos, the Athenian, requested by the honourable Captain Nikolaos Kephalas, sends through his hands this short work with the original Sanskrit text which he will deliver to the Greek authorities in the Peloponnesos. From India, in December 1823."[18]

In 1831, Galanos again attempted to send one of his manuscripts (the *Bhāminī-Vilāsa*), "for the benefit of the young philologists of the Greek race," to the first President and ruler of the newly established Greek state through his relative the Archbishop of Athens, Neophytos. Ioannis Kapodistrias was assassinated that same year and the text never reached him.

Galanos kept regular communication with his relatives in Greece and got news about the Greek revolution from the English newspapers. He probably visited his friends in Calcutta and Dhaka in the year of the commencement of the Greek revolution, as the Greek inscription on Alexander Paniotys' tombstone records that it was composed by Galanos.[19] In his last letter (dated Dec. 14, 1832) which is addressed to his nephew, Pandoleon, he questions him with great anxiety about the situation of his country and family:

> And about the fatherland. Do write to me how our country is faring now. Is it happy since it has become free, or was it happier before when it was under the yoke and in servitude? Let me know the names of the leaders and statesmen of the Athenians. Write to me how your father's house is doing and how many brothers and sisters you have, and what your mother's name is and whose daughter she is. Write to me how my sister Karyia's family is doing and of which illness Panages died. Write to me, if you know whether or not Panages has given 1300 rupees (Calc.) to the Society of Fine Arts. Did he give your father 500 rupees or not?[20]

In an earlier letter (dated December 1829) sent to his nephew, Pandoleon, Galanos quotes Isocrates and the wise Indians to testify that those who desire to acquire wisdom and wealth must undergo many hardships, forsake their houses, their relatives, and their friends and travel to foreign lands:

> If you are a reasonable and broadminded man, then come to me. If you are unreasonable, narrow-minded, and fainthearted, with the mind of a slave, stay there. Be a barbarian, a lowly oil-vendor or wine-dealer, or sell rice and beans. Since you bear the name of my father, that great and good man, and have, as I have heard, a keen mind, therefore I want you to come to me. I have written to the fathers of Mount Sinai about your requisites if you come. Take along what you have in books, lexica, and grammars. Because if you do not come, another will, and he will become the heir of my knowledge and my fortune. . . . But you, although you see all these good things at hand, you do not want to undergo a little hardship, but you are unconcerned and lazy as if in slumber from a

magic potion. Sober up, man and know yourself; be a Prometheus, not an Epimetheus.

He then expresses his love towards those who educate themselves; "the one I love is he who studies and educates himself." (Ὅστις μανθάνει, καὶ παιδεύεται, ἐκεῖνον ἐγὼ ἀγαπῶ.) In the same letter, he expresses his longing to return to Greece along with his nephew after the completion of his studies in India, ". . . then you would be envied, celebrated, and praised [in Greece] and they would point at you in admiration."[21]

Pandoleon finally decided to come to India and arrived in Bengal towards the end of 1832. But instead of asking him to come directly to Varanasi, his uncle advised him to study Greek and English with Father Ananias in Calcutta. In the same letter, which was probably the last of his life, Galanos expressed a deep regard for his old friends in Calcutta: ". . . all the respect you show to me, show as much and more to my very good friend Constantinos Pantazes, for he is my alter ego," and ". . . go to the house of my other friend, Manolakes Athanasiou to greet him and kiss his right hand."[22] Soon Galanos became seriously ill and died on the third of May, 1833, (twenty days before the arrival of Pandoleon in Varanasi). The *Asiatic Journal* announced under 'Deaths,' May 3: "At Benares, Mr. Demetrios Galanos, aged 74. This gentleman was a native of Greece, and for many years he has devoted himself with singular assiduity to the study of the sacred language and literature of the Hindus. He is understood to have left numerous translations from Sanskrit into Greek."[23]

The burial of Galanos was recorded in the Episcopal Registry of Burials of Benares (AD 1833) which was later transferred to Lucknow and is now preserved in the archives of the Episcopy of Allahabad;[24] in the Registry of Burials (AD 1833) of the Archdeacontry and Diocese of Calcutta;[25] and in the first Codex (1792–1914) of the Greek church in Calcutta.[26] No cause of death is given. Schulz[27] has suggested that he might had fallen victim to cholera which, according to the *Recollections of Northern India* (London, 1848) written by Rev. William Buyers, was raging in the city of Varanasi at the time and carrying away thousands. He was buried by A. Hammond, district chaplain, in the Christian cemetery of the city that had offered him hospitality for more than half his life.[28] On the tombstone there is the following epitaph:

IN MEMORY OF
DEMETRIUS GALANOS
AN ATHENIAN.
ΕΙΣ ΜΝΗΜΗΝ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ
ΓΑΛΑΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΥ
(followed by two lines in Phārsī)

The meaning of the Phārsī (official language at the time) lines allegedly composed by Munśī Śītal Sinh, (a wise Brahmin, a friend and teacher) is more or less the same as its Greek translation that has been recorded in the *Indikon Metaphraseon Prodromos,* (p. xxx):

> Βαβαὶ ἑκατοντάκις! Ὅτ᾽ ὁ Δημήτριος Γαλανὸς
> Ἀπῆλθεν ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου εἰς τὰς αἰωνίους μονάς,
> Μετὰ κλαυθμοῦ καὶ ὀδυρμοῦ τὸ οἴμοι! εἶπον ἔξω φρενῶν
> Ἀπῆλθε φεῦ! ὁ Πλάτων τοῦ Αἰῶνος.

The above in translation reads:

> Woe, a hundred times! Demetrios Galanos
> has gone away from this world to the eternal abodes.[29]
> Woe me! weeping and wailing have I said it. I am out of myself.
> Ah, he has gone away, the Plato of this century!

The epigraph mentioned by A. Goudas (viz. SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF DEMETRIUS GALANOS AN ATHENIAN WHO DIED AT BENARES IN THE EAST INDIES ON THE 3rd OF MAY 1833 AGED 72 YEARS) does not exist on the tomb. He probably had mistaken the epigraph of the tomb with the English part of the inscription placed on the pillar erected by Galanos' nephew in the Greek Orthodox church in Calcutta. The English epigraph there is followed by a short remembrance in Phārsī and a Greek elegy consisting of eight lines, composed by Father Ananias. The Greek part reads in translation: "Demetrios Galanos, the Athenian from Greece, died in the Indies [*Indikon Metaphraseon Prodromos* has 'on Indian soil']. He was a friend of the Muses and a man of learning. He shone brightly in fame and vocation. He left this wearisome life and departed for a life without affliction and eternal. Out of gratitude, his nephew Pandoleon erects this cenotaph for his eternal memory."[30]

Galanos' last will stated that half of his considerable property should be donated to his nephew Pandoleon and the other half to the Principal Academy of Athens. "I order that all my just debts, legacies, funeral expenses and charges of providing this my will be in the first place fully paid and satisfied and after payment thereof and every part thereof I give and bequeath to my nephew Pandoleon Galanos one moiety of the before mentioned property and the other moiety to the Principal Academy at Athens. I also give and bequeath to the Principal Academy at Athens all my Sanskrit books, writings, translations and Meniskeys [= Meniński's] Dictionary in three volumes." The Principal Academy became the University of Athens in 1837. In its annals, D. Galanos is listed as one of the benefactors.[31]

Galanos did not forget his Sanskrit teacher and servants, for his last will continues, "Also, I give and bequeath to Sue Ram, my pandit, the sum of two hundred rupees, Mooradeen my servant thirty rupees, Nawaze my ser-

vant thirty rupees and Buyon likewise a servant of mine twenty rupees." In regard to the funerary arrangements, "I also will and desire that out of the eight hundred rupees now in the hands of Moonsy Seetul Sing, four hundred be paid to any person or persons, duly authorised to receive the same for a piece of ground in the Church yard, for my burial, the other four hundred I desire may be made over to Mr. James Best for the purpose of erecting a monument over my grave."[32]

Unfortunately, the person or persons who received the money did not pay proper attention and constructed the tomb with 'surkhī and cuna' (a kind of Indian cement used for the plastering of the walls of the buildings in old days). All the other tombs, including that of Federoff, which was erected by Galanos, are made with well worked stones. As a result of this improper action, the wall broke and the first slight repairing was made by K.D. Petrokokkinos in 1905. In October 1995, Constantinos Aelianos (Greek Ambassador to India at the time) officially granted funds for the reconstruction of the tomb. With Father Rock's permission who is caretaker for the Christian cemetery, the reconstruction of the tomb was completed in November 1995. On this occasion a small ceremony in memory of the great Sanskritist was held in Varanasi and attended by Greek, Indian and other scholars.[33]

GALANOS' WORK[34]

Galanos worked tirelessly and translated into Greek some of India's most important texts on religion, philosophy and literature. His manuscripts, bound in twenty volumes (MS. no. 1836–55), are kept in the National Library in Athens. Ten of them were published posthumously (1845–53) in seven volumes.

The first volume, published under the title *Ἰνδικῶν Μεταφρασέων Πρόδρομος Δ. Γαλανοῦ* (*The Forerunner of the Indian Translations by D. Galanos,* Athens, 1845, ed. G. Typaldos and G. Apostolides, pp. xlviii + 155), contains his short biography together with three hundred and thirty translated verses from Bhartṛhari's lyric poems *Nīti-śataka* and *Vairāgya-śataka* (MS. no. 1851),[35] eighty-six verses from *Laghu-cāṇakya* (MS. no. 1855)[36] and ninety-eight eroto-didactic verses from the first part of Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja's *Bhāminī-Vilāsa* (second part of MS. no. 1851).[37]

The second volume, under the title *Βαλαβαράτα ἤ Συντομὴ τῆς Μαχαβαράτας,* (Athens, 1847, ed. G. Typaldos and G. Apostolides, pp. lxvi + 867), was, like the first, published at the expense of the 'lover of Muses' (φιλομούσῳ), Ioanni Douma. It contains the translation of the *Bālabhārata* of the Jain poet Amaracandra-Sūri (MSS. nos. 1847 and 1848).[38]

The third volume, under the title *Γιτὰ ἢ Θεσπέσιον Μέλος*, (Athens, 1848, ed. G. Typaldos and G. Apostolides, pp. lxxxii + 126), contains the translation of the *Bhagavadgītā* (MS. no. 1854).[39] In the manuscript there is a note announcing the completion of this translation on November 12, 1802.

The fourth volume, under the title *Ραγγοῦ Βάνσα ἢ Γενεαλογία τοῦ Ραγγοῦ*, (Athens, 1850, ed. G. Typaldos and G. Apostolides, pp. xcv + 275), contains the *Raghuvamśa* of Kālidāsa (MS. no. 1849).[40]

The fifth volume, published under the title *Ἰτιχάσα Σαμουτσάϊα, τουτέστιν Ἀρχαιολογίας συλλογή, ἢ περὶ διαλόγων τε καὶ μύθων φιλοσοφικῶν, νομίμων τε καὶ ἐθίμων Ἰνδικῶν, συλλεχθέντων κατ' ἐκλογὴν ἐκ τῆς Μαχαβαράτας, συγγραφείσης ὑπὸ τοῦ φιλοσόφου Βεκάσα*, (Athens, 1851, ed. G. Typaldos and G. Apostolides, pp. xxxvi + 285), contains the *Itihāsa Samuccaya* (MS. no. 1843). In the manuscript there is a note which informs us that Galanos had completed this translation in 1824.[41]

The sixth volume, published under the title *Χιτοπαδάσσα ἢ Πάντσα Τάντρα (Πεντάτευχος), συγγραφεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ σοφοῦ Βισνουσάρμανος καὶ Ψιττακοῦ Μυθολογίαι Νυκτεριναί*, (Athens, 1851, ed. G. Typaldos and G. Apostolides), *Hitopadeśa* or *Pañcatantra*: (a) introduction and text, pp. 54, (b) text, pp. 150, (c) text and index, pp. 111; *Śuka-saptati:* text, pp. 77), contains stories from the *Hitopadeśa* (second part of MS. no. 1852), *Pañcatantra* (MSS. nos. 1842 and 1852)[42] and *Śuka-saptati* (MS. no. 1850).[43]

Lastly, the seventh volume, published under the title *Δουργά*, (Athens 1853, ed. G. Typaldos and G. Apostolides, pp. xxxix + 67), contains the *Devīmāhātmyam* (second part of MS. no. 1842).[44]

Galanos also translated the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (MSS. nos. 1844, 1845 and 1846, pp. 184, 260 and 150 resp.),[45] but the preserved text is incomplete, comprising the translation of the first four books and parts of the fifth and tenth book. The financial situation of George K. Typaldos, Ephore of the National Library of Greece, and G. Apostolides, its Librarian and Keeper of Printed Books, who had invested a considerable portion of their resources on their laborious effort to edit and publish Galanos' books obliged them to desist from the publication of the *Bhāgavata Purāna*.[46]

The prolific output of Galanos did not end here, however; he also produced several dictionaries from Persian, Indian (i.e., Sanskrit, Bengali, Hindi) and English to Greek (MSS. nos. 1837 and 1838, pp. 85 and 86, respectively);[47] a *Sanskrit-English-Greek Dictionary* (third part of the MSS. no. 1837 and no. 1838, and the entire MS. no. 1840, pp. 73)[48] and a *Kośa* (Thesaurus) of synonyms entirely in Sanskrit (MS. no. 1841, pp. 357).[49] These manuscripts are either incomplete or bound in a confusing manner and could not be published easily.

Galanos' longest Sanskrit manuscript contains part of Kāśīnātha

Panditendra's Sanskrit lexicon, *Śabda Sandarbha Sindhu* (MS. no. 1836, pp. 80).[50] In yet another Sanskrit manuscript (no. 1839, pp. 62) there are titles and subtitles of *Pañcatantra*, plus an identifiable *Nītiśāstra* (code of conduct), and perhaps three more identifiable texts.[51]

Galanos' work is mainly concentrated on the translation of didactic stories and devotional poems, and on the preparation of lexicography. The central body of Indian philosophical thought that is contained in the Upaniṣads was, at the time, neither popular nor easily available to foreign scholars.[52] Galanos used the 'old fashioned' Greek which resembles the ecclesiastic language (koine) in which the *New Testament* and the works of the Fathers of the Greek Orthodox Church were written. This definitely adds to the excellency and beauty of his translations. Typaldos, the Greek editor, commenting on Galanos' translation said: "There can be no doubt that he treated the work at hand with great insight and translated it with great care and exactness; he adorned it with many definitions and enriched it with most noteworthy interpretations."[53] To illustrate Galanos' style, a few verses from the *Bhagavadgītā* in the original Greek, followed by two verses from the *Devīmāhātmyam* translated almost verbatim into English are given below.

Ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ μεθ' αἵματος θυσία, ἡ ἀναίμακτος θυσία·
ἡ ὑπερ νεκρῶν θυσία· ἐγὼ εἰμι τὸ ἀλεξητήριον· ἐγὼ ἡ ἐπωδὴ
ἐν τῇ θυσίᾳ, ἐγὼ τὸ χεόμενον (ἡ χοὴ ἢ ἡ σπονδὴ) εἰς τὸ
πῦρ τῆς θυσίας, ἐγὼ τὸ πῦρ τῆς θυσίας.

Ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ πατὴρ τούτου τοῦ κόσμου, καὶ ἡ μήτηρ,
καὶ ὁ χορηγός, καὶ ὁ προπάτωρ· ἐγὼ εἰμι τὸ νοερὸν καὶ ἁγνόν,
τὸ Ὂμ καὶ ἡ τριὰς τῶν Βεδῶν (Ρὶκ, Σάμα, Ἰαζοῦ).

Ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ ὁδός, ὁ τροφεύς, ὁ διοικητής, ὁ αὐτόπτης πάντων,
ἡ χώρα τῆς ἀνέσεως, τὸ καταφύγιον, ὁ εὐμενής, ἡ γένεσις
καὶ ἡ φθορά, τὸ ἔρεισμα πάντων, ἡ τῆς διαλύσεως τῶν ὄντων
χώρα, καὶ ὁ σπόρος ὁ ἄφθορος.

Ἐγὼ θάλπω, ἐγὼ ποιῶ τὸν ὄμβρον καὶ τὸν αὐχμόν·
ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ ζωὴ καὶ ὁ θάνατος, καὶ πᾶν αἰσθητὸν καὶ νοητόν.[54]

You, O Goddess, are that divine and supreme Wisdom (Sophia)
which is the cause of immortality and so hard to attain.
You become accessible to those holy Brāhmaṇas desirous of
immortality, through hardy (Spartan-like) training and asceticism,
to those who mortify their senses and concentrate their minds
on things divine and live their lives without passions.

You are the Word (Logos) itself, you are the source of
the pure Ṛg- and Yajurvedas and of the Sāmaveda
which is praised as being melodious and clear-toned (ligyros).

You are the entire organisation and guidance in the conflict and life of the Cosmos.
You are the deliverer from the terrors of the Cosmos.[55]

In the *Bhagavad Gītā* translation, the Sanskrit names are preserved and transliterated into Greek, for example, Duryodhana (Δουριοδάνας), Droṇa (Δρόνας), Arjuna (Ἀρζούνας), Kṛṣṇa (Κρισνᾶς), etc., but in the *Devīmāhātmyam,* the Indian names are sometimes translated into Greek, e.g. 'Prajāpati Brahmā' translated as Δημιουργός (Creator), and 'Bhadrakāli,' as Καλὴ θεὰ (beautiful Goddess).[56]

In the manuscripts and letters of Galanos there are occasional references to classical writers, such as Homer, Orpheus, Plato, Euripides, Aristophanes, Isocrates, Philostratos, and Plotinos; to the early Christian Fathers: Eusebios, Saint Augustine, Ioannis Chryssostomos, Ioannis of Damascos, Basil of Caesarea, Saint Athanasios, Theodoretos, and Clement of Alexandria; and to the Christian theologian Origen. Several books of ancient Greek writers[57] were also found in the personal library of the deceased scholar, suggesting that he continued to study the spiritual and intellectual treasures of his country throughout his entire life.

Further research might be directed towards Galanos' awareness regarding the cultural and philosophical affinities of the two nations. Schulz has already mentioned two comparative personal remarks of Galanos: "The Greek language has been corrupted and metamorphosed more by the Romans, than by any other nation, that invaded Greece, as the Indian language by the barbarous Mohammedans;" and "The women of Thessaly were very famous in magic amongst the Greeks, as amongst the Bengalees the men of Pegoó."[58]

Burgi-Kyriazi explained, in the concluding remarks of her book, that Galanos, who had lived for forty years in an important centre of the orthodox Hinduism, could not have been unaware of India's philosophical traditions; yet he avoided commenting or even writing an introduction about them because he wanted to avoid a potential conflict with the Greek Orthodox Church. The fact that Galanos did not write philosophical ideas makes it difficult to decide whether he was a philosopher or not, yet it is certain that he was neither an ascetic nor a Brahmin. According to Burgi-Kyriazi, Galanos was a well educated Greek who sincerely did his work for his own satisfaction, perhaps with the intention of introducing Indian literature to the educated people of his country.

WORKS ON GALANOS

Several articles have been published about Galanos' life in Greek journals and newspapers. Often they have exaggerated titles, such as *The Greek*

Brahmin or *The First European Indologist.* Apart from older scholars, such as Constantinos Sathas,[59] Vassilis Eliades,[60] N.I. Louvaris,[61] Anastasios Goudas,[62] Phanes Michalopoulos,[63] and others,[64] Gregorios Ziakas[65] and Danae Papastratou[66] have also included a chapter on Galanos in their recent works. An international paper entitled, *Demetrios Galanos, the Greek Indologist*[67] was read by Ioannis Gennadios, (Greek Ambassador to Great Britain at the time), in the 'Third International Congress for the History of Religion.'

Another Greek scholar, Maria Burgi-Kyriazi, sponsored by 'The Swiss National Foundation for Scientific Research,' undertook an extensive and scholarly research on the life and work of Demetrios Galanos. She published the results of her research in French in a book entitled *Démétrios Galanos-Enigme de la Renaissance Orientale.*[68] The book is divided into three parts. The first deals with the historical and cultural background of Greece and India at the time of Galanos and includes descriptions of his life and personality. Burgi-Kyriazi presented elaborate notes about the Greek community in Bengal; the culture of India and particularly of Benares, and the history of Sanskrit literature and lexicography. The second part of her book contains elaborated descriptions of Galanos' published and unpublished manuscripts. The third part includes: a study on the life and work of the Swiss Indologist Antoine-Louis De Polier (1741–95); the life of George Typaldos, and his contribution to the publication of Galanos' works and the promotion of the Indological studies in Greece; and conclusions. In the appendices of her book are copies from the official documents she selected during her research in India and her letter announcing the discovery of Galanos' tomb to the assembly of the Academy of Athens.[69]

On the occasion of the 160th anniversary of the death of Galanos, the philologist Sarantos Kargakos published in Greek a small book (pp. 93) entitled (in translation), *Demetrios Galanos the Athenian (1760-1833): The First European Indologist.* This book contains, a brief account on the philosophical and religious contacts of the two nations; the history of the Greek community in Bengal; the biography of Galanos; and several of his personal letters. Kargakos placed emphasis on the fact that Galanos remained a pious Christian throughout his life.

Among foreign scholars, Monier-Williams, in his monumental *Sanskrit-English Dictionary,* cited a considerable number of meanings culled from Galanos' Dictionary;[70] E. Kuhn and P.E. Pavolini held lectures on Galanos in the XVI Congress of Orientalists (Athens, 1912);[71] Dasgupta quoted the Greek translation of *Laghu-cāṇakya* in his *History of Sanskrit Literature*;[72] Moritz Winternitz mentioned the translations of *Bālabhārata, Cāṇakya,* Bhartṛhari's *śatakas*, and *Bhāminī-vilāsa* and Subhadra Jha added a short note on the synonymies' glossary of Galanos in his English translation of

Winternitz's *Geschichte der Indischen Litteratur*;[73] V. Raghavan quoted three editions of Typaldos;[74] Windisch's *Geschiche der Sanskrit-Philologie und indischen Altertumskunde* (Strassburg, 1917) devoted almost two pages to Galanos;[75] and more recently, the Sanskritist, Oscar Pujol, in his short article *Recordando a Galanos*, published in the inaugural issue of the *Cuaderno Sociedad De Estudios Índicos Y Orientales*, expressed the hope that Galanos may become a symbol of 'xenophilia' in the European Society for Oriental Studies.[76]

A pioneering investigation of the actual translations of Galanos and their relationship to the original Sanskrit works was made by Siegfried A. Schulz, who published several papers on the subject.[77] Schulz gave numerous etymological examples and stressed the importance of Galanos' work for comparative philology.[78] He also authored the only available critical study on the *Devīmāhātmyam* translation.[79] Paṇḍit Baldeva Upādhyāya, a renowned Sanskritist in Varanasi, after reading this paper, said, "From the study of the particulars of the interpretation and description of the Greek translation one comes to know the deep knowledge in Sanskrit that the translator possessed."

Paṇḍit Baldeva Upādhyāya honoured the memory of Galanos on behalf of the Paṇḍits of Benares by incorporating his biography into his historical account, *The Tradition of the Paṇḍits of Benares*.[80] In marked contrast to his somehow unjustified generalisation about the motives of British scholars, his appreciation for the work of Galanos is clearly evident. He writes:

> In this way the Greek Scholar studied Sanskrit in Benares and having for the first time translated the Sanskrit books into Greek to enlarge the knowledge of the whole of Europe, he made an unprecedented contribution. At that time English scholars too studied Sanskrit and wrote books, but their primary purpose was politics. For the state of being and fitness of government they loved Sanskrit, but the interest of the Greek Galanos was purely Academic. His main aim was to introduce the Sanskrit language and literature to the European scholars and he continued to flourish in this graceful effort. In this way, for the introduction of the tradition of the Paṇḍits (scholars) of Benares to foreign countries we are always obliged to the Greek scholar Demetrios Galanos and in order to make more known the name and the work of this almost forgotten scholar of Sanskrit this description has been given here.[81]

Unfortunately, we must mention that Galanos' genius contributions have not been recognised or appreciated in the measure they deserve. The majority of authors of the standard histories of Sanskrit literature seem to be unaware of his work and do not include his name in their lists of foreign contributors to the study of Sanskrit literature. Also, the absence of a department for Indian studies in the Greek universities has prevented greater recognition of and deeper research into his work—a fact that has been criticised by all who have written about his life and his work:

The absence of a chair for Oriental philology in the University and the neglect of religious studies have caused Galanos' work to be forgotten and not to be appreciated as it deserves. However, when these studies are introduced (and we hope in the not-to-distant future) Galanos' work will be given it's true credit and his name written in gold letters in the annals of Greek science.

Louvaris[82]

It is now (in 1993) 160 years since the death of D. Galanos. The best contribution to the memory of the noted Indologist would be, not a celebration organised by the ministry of Culture or the University of Athens, but the creation of an institute of Asian studies with the name 'Demetrios Galanos.'

Kargakos[83]

It would seem that Galanos wanted to provide his country's intellectual elite the scholarly tools with which to engage in advanced studies and to revive the intellectual excellence which the Greece of ancient times claimed for herself. The Athenian Academy was founded with the help of his money, yet he failed to inspire his countrymen, whose response to his work was as disappointing as that of his nephew Pandoleon.

Schulz[84]

May this translation become an opportunity not only for paying attention to the work so great in volume and significance of the great Greek scholar, but also to restore the injustice, which covers with its silence his contribution to the strengthening of the Greek education and the international promotion of the Greek spirit.

Zographakes[85]

REFERENCES

1. The city was later sanctified through the superhuman defence by its citizens against the Ottoman Turks. All its citizens heroically died in their final unsuccessful attempt to break the siege of the city in 1826. The poet Lord Byron (d. 1824), along with the Italian Pietro Gamba, the American Quaker Jeremy Baxter, the Swiss printer Meyer, the English firemaster William Parry, Major Leicester Stanhope, Doctor Bruno and his faithful servant Fletcher were among those who found themselves stranded for a time in the small town and shared the great ideal of a resurrection of the ancient Greek spirit.
2. The real name of the teacher of Galanos in Messolonghion was Palamaris. He changed his name to Palamas in order to honour the memory of Saint Gregorios Palamas (1296–1360), the Archbishop of Salonica, who composed the *Apology for the Holy Hesychasts* to defend 'Hesychasm' against the defamatory attacks ['omphaloskopoi'] of the Greek monk, Barlaam the Calabrian. Panagiotes Palamas (1722–1802), a student of the celebrated scholar Eugenios Bulgaris, initially taught Greek in the ecclesiastic school 'Athoniada' on Mount Athos; later in 1760 he became principal of the public school of Messolonghion, which attracted students from all over Greece. Palamas wrote many books, but all were destroyed during the Greek-Turkish war. For his contribution to the field of learning he was awarded the honourary title 'Teacher of the Nation' (Διδάσκαλος τοῦ Γένους). See: *Μεγάλη Ἑλληνικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία*, Παύλου Δραγάκη, Ἀθῆναι, 1959 (1921), s.v. Παλαμᾶς Παναγιώτης.

3. The monastery was built on the island of Patmos in memory of Saint John Theologos, who had a vision of the *Apocalypse* there. The school with its rich library and its well trained teachers played a significant role in the education of Greek children during the years of the Turkish occupation. The Turks oppressed all forms of education except that which was concerned with the preparation for priesthood.
4. Elias Tantalides, *Ἰνδικὴ Ἀλληλογραφία*, (Constantinople, 1852), letters nos. 6. 8 respectively.
5. For the Greek community in Bengal, see *infra* chapter 5.
6. Ioannis Gennadios, "Δημήτριος Γαλανός—ὁ Ἕλλην Ἰνδολόγος," (reprint. *Ἑλληνισμός*, Athens, Feb.–Apr. 1930), p. 6.
7. This was not the case with other poor and distressed Europeans who were struggling for their survival. Cf. "There is a good deal of distress among the Europeans and half-castes here, arising from various causes, especially from the multitude of speculations which have been tried of late years in Indigo and other establishments. . . . House-rent is enormous and though the poorer classes of Europeans and half-castes live in wretched dwellings, in unwholesome parts of the town, they are often obliged to pay for these as much as would rent an excellent house in most of the market towns of England and would furnish them with very tolerable dwellings even in London." Heber, op. cit., vol. I, p. 45.
8. The enormous value of Galanos' property which, at the time of his death, was appraised at about 75–80,000 gold francs (Goudas speaks of 80,000 Drachmas), has raised several questions regarding the nature of his work in Bengal. Bishop Heber described him as a retired partner of a Greek trading house in Calcutta and Pandazes' lawyer mentioned him as a Greek merchant residing in Benares. Document no. II, Requête de C. Pandazy, in Maria Burgi-Kyriazi, *Démétrios Galanos-Enigme de la Renaissance Orientale*, (Librairie d' Amerique et d' Orient, Paris, 1984), p. 126. But as Schulz has suggested, it is also possible that he had received a generous gift from his best friend Constantinos Pandazes and successfully invested it in the form of Promissory Notes and Shares in commercial companies in Calcutta.
9. Varanasi, also known as Benares and Kāśī (the city of light), is an ancient cultural and educational centre in the state of Uttar Pradesh. It has traditionally been recognised as the religious capital of the Hindus, very similar to the way Mecca is for the Muslims and Jerusalem is for the Christians and Jews. The city, in its long history, has been visited by a great number of sages, such as the Buddha, Śaṅkarācārya, Kabīr, Tulsīdās, etc. The Mahārāja of Benares and the other kings who had built palaces on the western bank of the Ganges were renowned for their patronage of art and learning. The city, with its religious fervour, its traditional schools and its musical heritage, along with its natural beauty, has always attracted Indian and foreign scholars. The presence of many foreigners in Varanasi was noticed by Bishop Heber (op. cit., vol. I, p. 329.), who writes: "Benares being in many respects the commercial and in all, the ecclesiastical metropolis of India, I was not surprised to find persons from all parts of the Peninsula residing there. But I was astonished to hear of the number of Persians, Turks, Tartars and even Europeans, who are to be met with." Heber (ibid., p. 283) also adds that this very holiness makes the city the common resort of beggars. From 1774, after several controversies, Warren Hastings, the first governor-general of British India, adopted the policy of rendering the Rājā of Benares under his wing, but levied an annual tribute. The population of Benares, at the time of the census made in 1803, amounted to above 582,000 people. There is a popular Hindu belief that once upon a time Annapūrṇā, the goddess of plenteous food and Lord Śiva made an agreement that She would provide food and abundance in life to all those who took refuge in Kāśī, while He would provide mokṣa (freedom from the cycle of rebirth) at the time

of death to them all. The first part of this saying, at least, proved true for Galanos.

10. According to *Banārasa Rāja kī Tavārikh* (*The History of the Kingdom of Benares*, written in Phārsī and published in Lucknow), Śītal Sinh was born in 1773 and was appointed clerk by the Mahārāja (king) of Benares Udita Nārāyana Sinh. Śītal Sinh knew many languages, was a capable administrator, an excellent scholar and a poet of the highest order, known by his pen-name 'Bekhud.' H.H. Wilson, in the book *Religious Sects of India* (published posthumously in 1861, ed. E.R. Rose, reprint Calcutta, 1952) wrote that in the collection of his articles he compiled the Phārsī works of two Indian scholars, one of which was Mathuranath, the librarian of the Hindu college and the other one Śītal Prasād, who was the clerk of the Mahārāja of Benares. Śītal Prasād died on December 18, 1854. See S.A. Schulz, "The Devīmāhātmya in Greek: D. Galanos Translation," *Purāṇa*, (Journal of the All-India Kashiraj Trust, Ramnagar, Varanasi), vol. XXIV (January 1982), no.1, p. 8, n. 2.
11. Heber, op. cit., vol. I, p. 329.
12. Ibid.
13. *Ινδικῶν Μεταφρασέων Πρόδρομος*, (*Forerunner of Indian Translations*, Athens, 1845), p. x.
14. See, for example, the prayer in a letter sent by Galanos to Father Gregorios of Siphnos, who served as a priest in the Greek Orthodox church in Dhaka for five years: "Ἥμαρτον εἰς σε, Σωτὴρ, ὡς ἄσωτος υἱός, δέξε με, πάτερ, μετανοοῦντα καὶ ἐλέησον με, ὁ Θεός· ταῦτα λέγω ψάλλων οὐ μόνον ἅπαξ, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις τῆς ἡμέρας. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο λέγων ἐκφωνῶ, εἰ βούλει, τὸ τοῦ ληστοῦ: μνήσθητί μου Κύριε, ὅταν ἔλθῃς ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ σου. Οὐκ ἔστιν αὕτη ἐξομολόγησις; Οὐκ ἔστιν αὕτη μετάνοια;" ("I sinned before you, Saviour, like the prodigal son, receive me, Father, as a repentant and have mercy on me, O God. These (prayers) I chant not only once, but many times a day. But, if you please, I shall also declare what the robber said, 'Lord "Jesus," remember me when you come into your kingdom.' Is not it a confession? Is not it a repentance?") In another letter, however, addressed again to Father Gregorios of Siphnos, he draws upon cross-cultural imagery, "I pray both the Ocean Lord, Poseidon and the Indian Varuna to give thee fair voyage, going and returning." Paul Byron Norris, *Ulysses in the Raj*, (British Association for Cemeteries in South Asia, London, 1992), pp. 53–54.
15. Schulz, *JAOS*, vol. LXXXIX, no. 2, (April–June 1969), p. 351. For further details on Nicholas Kephalas and his meeting with Galanos as well as for references to Greek publications on Kephalas, see: Σαράντος Ι. Καργάκος (Kargakos), *Δημήτριος Γαλανός ο Αθηναίος (1760–1833)—Ο Πρώτος Ευρωπαίος Ινδολόγος*, (Gutemberg, Αθήνα, 1994), pp. 54-61. See also, Schulz, *JAOS*, pp. 350-1; S.A. Schulz, "Demetrios Galanos, A Greek Scholar in India," *German Scholars on India*, (Edited by the Cultural Department of the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany, New Delhi, Nachiketa Publications Limited, Bombay, 1976), vol. 2, p. 259; Burgi-Kyriazi, op. cit., pp. 48–49.
16. *Descrizione delle citt? di Benares nell' India, dell' Indiano politeismo, suo culto, e costumi, di quei popoli: fatto dal viaggiatore Cap. Niccolo Chiefala, Greco di Zante, nel suo viaggio nell'anno 1824. Dal medesimo publicata e corredata d'una carta Geografica dell'India da esso disegnata*, dai Torci in Claudo Masi, Livorno, 1826.
17. Schulz, *JAOS*, p. 352.
18. Ibid., p. 350.
19. The tombstone was lost after the destruction of the Greek church in Dhaka, but the inscription (in Greek and English) is found recorded in some notes collected, *circa* 1923, by the Education Department of India to record British and European Monumental inscriptions. A translation of the Greek inscription is as follows: "I was called

Panaiotes and my father was Alexios. Philippoupolis was my native land. Now your native land is the abode of the Blessed One, rejoicing with others. The tomb inside the holy church, which in your devotion you built, holds your body. Farewell, you had a great heart and soul, O memorable man! Galanos says that he lived for seventy years less two months and departed this life on 10 Jan. 1821." Norris, op. cit., p. 33.

20. Schulz, *JAOS*, pp. 350–1.
21. Schulz, *German Scholars on India*, p. 254. The letter in Galanos' hand-writing has been published in *Μεγάλη Ἑλληνικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαίδεια*, Παύλου Δραγάκη, VIII, p. 41.
22. Norris, op. cit., p. 54.
23. *The Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register for British and Foreign India, China and Australia*, XII, 2, 1833. Cf. Schulz, *JAOS*, p. 339.
24. The document reads: Year—1833, Month—May, Day—3, Name—Demetrios Galanos, Profession and Residence—Greek Christian/ Benares, Where Buried—Benares. The signature of A. Hammond by whom he was buried follows.
25. S.A. Schulz, "A Greek in India: Galanos," *Bhāratī*, (BHU, 1965–66), no. 9, part II, p. 94.
26. The Codex lists his death under no. 71: 1833, April 23. The difference in the date is due to the use of the Orthodox Church calendar.
27. *JAOS*, p. 339.
28. After crossing the Varuṇa river to the north, the old cemetery is opposite and at a small distance from the Central Jail. It is divided into two parts by the Central Jail road. The tomb of Galanos along with the tomb of the Russian Peter are in the southern cemetery. Gennadios' description of the location of Galanos tomb (i.e. on entering through the gate from the road, it is the ninth on the left) is correct. The cemetery belongs to the Catholic church (not Anglican as has been stated by previous scholars), but it has served as a general Christian one. There are numerous tombs of British colonialists, Armenians, French, Italians, and others.
29. Schulz (*JAOS*, p. 354, n. 62; *Purāṇa*, p. 8) translates 'μονάς' literally as 'monads,' but the context suggests that the term as used here is not the accusative plural of 'μονάς, ἡ' (= monad) but of 'μονή, ἡ,' which means 'abode' (from 'μένω = 'I stay').
30. "Ὁ ἐξ Ἑλλάδος Γαλανός Ἀθηναῖος
Τέθνηκε Δημήτριος ἐν γῇ Ἰνδίας
Μουσῶν δ' ὤν φίλος ὁ ἀνήρ καί παιδείας
Λαμπρός κατέστη τῇ φήμῃ καί τῇ κλήσει
Λιπών δέ τόνδε τόν πολύμοχθον βίον
Ἀπῆλθεν εἰς ἄλυπον καί ἀΐδιον βίον
Ἵστησι τοίνυν, εὐγνωμοσύνης χάριν
Ὁ ἀδελφιδός αὐτοῦ τό δέ κενοταφεῖον
Ὁ Παντολέων, εἰς ἀΐδιον μνήμην."
Cf. Schulz, *Bhāratī*, p. 94, n. 1; *JAOS*, p. 355. Schulz discovered Galanos' tomb after the publication of these papers.
31. Cf. Schulz, *JAOS*, pp. 339, n. 4, 354.
32. A copy of the original document of the Last Testament of Galanos is published in Burgi-Kyriazi, op. cit., pp. 128–30.
33. D. Th. Vassiliades, "A Greek Scholar Remembered," *At Home in India*, (ICCR, New Delhi, 1996), vol. 1, no. 5, p. 2; "Kāśī me ek yunānī paṇḍit," *Vartikā*, (BHU, Varanasi, 1996), vol. 1, no. 2, pp. 22–23.
34. The data concerning the manuscripts of Galanos was derived from I. Sakkelionos' *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of the National Library of Greece*, (Athens, 1892) and the research papers of Schulz which I compared with the descriptions given in the

books of Burgi-Kyriazi and Kargakos. For my notes on the Sanskrit texts, I have consulted the following works: S.C. Banerji, op. cit.; Krishna Chaitanya, *New History of Sanskrit Literature*, Manohar, Delhi, 1977; S.K. De, *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, Firma K.L., Mukhopadhyaya, Calcutta, 1960; A.K. Warder, *Indian Kāvya Literature*, (in 6 vols.), Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1972–92; Dasgupta and De, op. cit.; Keith, *History of Sanskrit Literature*; Satyaprakash, *Bibliography of Sanskrit Language and Literature*, Indian Documentation Service, Gurgaon, 1894; Winternitz, op. cit.; Mani, op. cit.; and Śrīdhar Bhāskar Varnekar, *Sanskrit Vanmaya Kośa*, (in Hindi), Bhāratīya Bhāṣā Pariṣad, Kalkattā, 1988.

35. Bhartṛhari (? *c*. seventh century AD), author of the *Nīti, Vairāgya*, and *Śṛṅgāra Śatakas* is identified by some scholars the same as Bhartṛhari, who authored the grammatico-philosophical work called, *Vākyapadīya* and perhaps of a commentary on Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*, called *Mahābhāṣya-dīpikā*. The poet, in his *Nīti-śataka*, seeks to inculcate worldly wisdom and denounces material pleasure and love. In the *Vairāgya-śataka*, as the title suggests, he praises renunciation and points out the vanity of love and earthly happiness. There are also some practical instructions of didactic value, such as the metaphor of a water drop falling on heated iron, illustrating the decline of a man if he would mix in bad company, etc. According to the Chinese traveller, I Ching, Bhartṛhari converted to Buddhism, but other sources refer to him as a master (ācārya) of Vedānta. The *Nīti* and *Vairāgya Śatakas* were translated into English by C.H. Tawney, (Calcutta, 1877; *Ind. Ant.*, IV, 1875; V, 1876) and B.H. Wortham, (London, 1886); into French by Regnand (1875).

36. Cāṇakya, a Brāhmaṇa politician, is also called Kauṭilya or Viṣṇugupta. It is believed that he was Prime Minister for the Mauryan King Candragupta (*c*. 324–300 BC) and that he was the author of the *Arthaśāstra*, the earliest and most celebrated political treatise in Sanskrit literature. But other scholars have found no reason to ascribe the authorship of the text to him. Some of its verses are found in the epics and in *Garuḍa Purāṇa*. There are more than seventeen recensions of this work. The *Laghu-cāṇakya* (vv. 83–97 in eight chapters), which contains several moral stanzas, is an abridgement of this work. The *Cāṇakya-sūtra*, a collection of wise maxims and the *Cāṇakya-rājanīti-śāstra*, a work on politics and statecraft, are also attributed to him. Cāṇakya, known to Arabic writers as Sānaq, to whom several works on medicine have been credited, is most likely a later author. The wisdom and aphorisms of Sānaq found in the Arabic work *Sirāj al-Mulūk* by Ṭorṭūsī (twelfth century AD) are also supposedly based on the *Cāṇakya-nītisāra*. Galanos considered this manuscript of great importance to Greek politicians and sent them a copy with its first Greek translation; Kephalas published the Greek and Italian translation under the title, *Sommaria di sentenze morali del filosofo indiano Sanakea* (Rome, 1825). The text was repeatedly translated into various European languages. Bejout translated it into French: *Sentences Morales du Philosophe Indien de Sanakea*, (Paris, 1826); Albrecht Weber into German: *Über hundert Sprüche des Cāṇakya*, (Leipzig, 1868). E. Teza edited the text from Galanos' manuscript: *Laghucāṇakyam, Sentenze Indiane*, in Annali dalle Universita Toscane, Tome XVI, (Pisa, 1879), pp. 352–04. A treatise on the recension of the *Cāṇakya* used by Galanos was published by G.M. Bolling in *Studies in Honor of Maurice Bloomfield* (New Haven, 1920), pp. 49–74 and in *JAOS*, 1921, pp. 496 ff.

37. Jagannātha, a South Indian Brāhmaṇa, was given the honourable title of 'King of Scholars' (Paṇḍitarāja) by the emperor of Delhi, Shāh Jahān (AD 1628–58), for his great contribution to Indian poetics. He is author of the celebrated *Rasa-Gaṅgādhara*; of the partly lyric and partly gnomic *Bhāminī-vilāsa* (*The Sport of a Beautiful Woman*) and of three eulogistic works addressed to different kings. The *Bhāminī-vilāsa* is divided into four books, viz. *Anyokti* (101 vv.), *Śṛṅgāra* (102 vv.), *Karuṇa* (19 vv.),

and *Śānta* (31 vv.). The poet oscillates between eroticism and renunciation and shows a great capacity for producing pictorial fancy and allegoric expressions. The *Bhāminī-vilāsa* was translated into French by A. Bergaigne (Paris, 1872); the third book (*Karuna*) into German by P. V. Bohlen (Lipsiae, 1840), and into English by S. Iyer (Bombay, 1894) and B.G. Bal (Bombay, 1895). A collection of the complete work of Jagannātha was edited by A. Sharma as early as 1589 (Hyderabad).

38. Jaina Amaracandra (Ἀμάρα ἤ Ἀμαρασάνδρα), also called Amaracandra Sūri, Amarapaṇḍita, and Amarajati, was born as a Brāhmaṇa but later converted to the Śvetāmbara Jaina. He was a pupil of Jinadatta (Ζηναδάτα) Sūri's disciple Kavirāj Arisinh. [Cf. *Sanskrit Vānmaya Kośa*, Pratham Khaṇḍa(granth), p. 275]. But Typaldos, the editor of the Greek text, Schulz (*JAOS*, p. 340), and Dasgupta and De (op. cit., p. 331), have named him as a direct pupil of Jinadatta Sūri, the author of *Viveka-vilāsa*. Amaracandra is the author of thirteen texts including a close metrical abridgement of the *Mahābhārata* called the *Bālabhārata*. This text is divided into 18 parts (parvas), 44 chapters (sargas), and 6, 950 verses (ślokas). The work was written under King Viśāladeva of Anhilvad, 1243–61, ed. Paṇḍit, Old Series, pp. iv–vi, (Benares, 1869–72) and K.P. Parab, *Kāvyamālā*, 45, (NSP, Bombay, 1894). There is one more incomplete version of *Bālabhārata* written in dramatic form by Rāja Śekhara (author of the *Bāla Rāmāyana*), which contains only the first two acts.

39. The *Bhagavad Gītā*, (*The Lord's Song*), consists of 750 verses divided into 18 chapters. It forms a part of the great Sanskrit epic *Mahābhārata* (Bhīṣma Parva, chs. 25–43). In the battlefield of Kurukṣetra, Lord Kṛṣṇa persuades the reluctant Arjuna to fight his own kinsmen (Kauravas), friends and teachers who had turned against dharma (moral law). In this discourse Kṛṣṇa suggests liberation to the followers of all three paths viz. karma (action), jñāna (knowledge), and bhakti (devotion). The *Bhagavad Gītā*, along with the *Rāmāyana*, is the Hindus' most popular religious text. It has been commented on by numerous ancient scholars, such as Śaṅkarācārya, Rāmānujācārya, and Madhvācārya. The text has been highly praised by western scholars for its literary and philosophical contributions and it has been translated into many languages. Among its early translations are: two into English by Charles Wilkins (London, 1785) and by E. Arnold (1885); one into Latin (with text) by A.W. Schlegel (1823); two into German by F. Majer (Weimar, 1802) and by Deussen (1912); and two into French by Parraud (Paris, 1787) and by E. Burnouf (Paris, 1861). Georgios K. Zographakes published Galanos' translation of the *Bhagavad Gītā* twice: the first (*Το Θεϊκό Τραγούδι*, 1966) side by side with T.T. Vatsianos' translation into modern Greek; and the second (*Μπάγκαβατ Γκίτα—Το Θείο Τραγούδι*, 1983) along with his own translation.

40. The name of the poet has not been mentioned in the title of the Greek edition. Kālidāsa (date under dispute, between first century BC and fifth century AD), the most celebrated poet and dramatist in Sanskrit literature, is the author of the mahākāvyas called *Raghuvaṁśa* and *Kumāra-sambhava*, the lyric poem entitled *Meghadūta* (*The Cloud Messenger*) and the dramas, *Abhijñāna-śākuntala*, *Vikramorvaśīya* and *Mālavikāgnimitra*. Numerous other *kāvyas* are traditionally attributed to him. *Raghuvaṁśa* (*The Dynasty of Raghu*) is one of his great poetic narratives (*mahākāvya*) divided into nineteen chapters (cantos). The book, written in inspired poetic excellence, describes the lives of the kings of the solar dynasty from Dilīpa to Agnivarṇa, but of the twenty-nine kings only twenty have been briefly mentioned. The great epic takes its title from the name of King Raghu, son of Dilīpa, a great hero who conquered various places in North and South India and who, in the course of his world conquest fought against Hūṇas, Yavanas, Persians and even Lord Indra. In the poem there are many beautiful descriptions of heroic acts and romances. Yet, above all the

epic propagates duty—the pursuit of wealth and love in the youth and of meditation and liberation in old age—as man's greatest ideal. The story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* has been also abridged in this epic. The book was translated into Latin by A.F. Stenzler, (London, 1832) and edited with English translation by G.R. Nandargikar, (Bombay, 1897).

41. A copy of this book is kept in the National Library, Calcutta and is the only available work of Galanos in India. From the title of the Greek translation we deduce that the text contains various dialogues, philosophical myths, laws and customs, selected by the philosopher Vekasa (? Vyāsa). The Sanskrit manuscript available in the library of the Sanskrit University, Varanasi (1914–15, p. 4, no. 2428) contains thirty-two legends from the *Mahābhārata*. The text has been edited by Venkateshwar Press, (Bombay, 1916), but as far as is known it has not been translated into any other language.

42. Schulz mentioned the *Pañcatantra* and the *Hitopadeśa* as separate texts, but the presence of the conjunction 'ή' ('or,' omitted in translation) in the Greek title and the ascription of the book to a single author (i.e. the wise Viṣṇuśarma) suggests that no division between *Pañcatantra* and *Hitopadeśa* was made by the editor. From the analysis of the content of the manuscripts (Burgi-Kyriazi, op. cit., p. 96) it is evident that Galanos had separated the two texts. The *Pañcatantra* contains various didactic beast fables which in many respects resemble the fables of Aesop. The Sanskrit text is divided into five books, viz., *Mitrabheda* (separation of friends), *Mitrapti* (acquisition of friends), *Sandhi-vigraha* (union and separation), *Labdhanāśa* (loss of what is acquired) and *Aparīkṣitakāritva* (rash action). There are several versions of the *Pañcatantra*, out of which the Kashmiri *Tantrākhyāyikā* is regarded as the earliest and nearest to the lost original. The text has been ascribed to Viṣṇuśarma, who is estimated to have lived between the second century BC and the sixth century AD. The *Pañcatantra* was rendered into Pahlavi (Middle Persian) in the middle of the sixth century and from there was translated into Arabic and Syrian. Some scholars believe that certain tales were taken from Greece, while others the opposite. It was translated into English by Thomas North, *The Moral Philosophic of Doni*, (London, 1570, 1601) and by A.W. Ryder (Chicago, 1925); into Italian by Agnolo Firenzola (1548) and by Doni (1552); into Latin by Johannes von Capua (*c.* 1263–78); into Hebrew by Rabbi Joel (beginning of twelfth century); and into French by M. L'Abbé J.A. Dubois (Paris, 1872). Edited by K.P. Parab (NSP, 1896). A collection of various versions has been edited by J. Hertel (Cambridge, 1915). The *Hitopadeśa* is an abridged Bengali version of the *Pañcatantra* and has been traditionally ascribed to Nārāyaṇa. In place of the five books of the *Pañcatantra* it contains only four. Many didactic verses from the *Kāmandakīya Nītisāra* are added to it. Translated into English by C. Wilkins (London, 1787).

43. *Śuka-saptati* literally means 'Seventy (Tales) of a Parrot.' It contains folk tales in prose which, like the *Pañcatantra* and *Hitopadeśa*, cannot really be ascribed to a single author. Briefly, the story runs as follows: a man goes on a long journey and leaves his wife alone with her parrot. Seeing that the woman is ready to run out of the house as night falls, the parrot continues to tell stories, each one becoming more attractive than the last. Finally seventy stories have been told enticing the wife's and readers' curiosity until the husband returns and the unity of the family is saved. There are three available versions: The first has been ascribed to Devadatta, the second (Ornatior) to Cintāmaṇi Bhaṭṭa, and the third (Simplicior) seems to have come from a Prākṛta (Jaina) original. The Ornatior text, which cannot be earlier than the twelfth century AD, was translated into German by Richard Schmidt (Stuttgart, 1899). The Simplicior text, being condensed and obscure is of less literary value. It was edited (Leipzig, 1893) and translated into German (Kiel, 1894) by the same scholar.

44. *Devīmāhātmyam* known also as *Saptaśatī*, *Durgāmāhātmyam*, *Caṇḍīmāhātmyam* or simply *Caṇḍī* is a portion of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (chs. 81–93). References to Purāṇas are found in the Brāhmaṇas, Upaniṣads and *Mahābhārata*, but they were put into writing after the sixth or seventh century AD. They include cosmologies, histories of sages and kings, and stories of gods and heroes. They reflect the social and ethical culture of India (Bhārata) and have served as historical (itihāsas) and educational texts. Their philosophical and literary value is not always of the highest standard. There are eighteen major and eighteen minor Purāṇas. The former contain about 400,000 vv. The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, which is one of the earliest, has 9,000 of them. The *Devīmāhātmyam* contains praises ascribing the glory of the Goddess of Light, Durgā, as She defeats evil. The text is held in great veneration by the Hindus, particularly in Bengal where the devotees are known to have a long tradition in the worship of the 'Supreme Person' in its female form (Ādyā-Śakti). Ed. and tr. into Latin by L. Poley, (Berlin, 1831); into English by B. Pargiter, *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, pp. 465–523 (Calcutta, 1904); and into French by E. Burnouf, (Paris, 1824). Kargakos (op. cit., p. 89) confused the critical study of Schulz on the *Devīmāhātmyam* of Galanos, which forms part of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* and has been published in the Journal *Purāṇa*, with the unpublished *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* of Galanos.

45. The *Śrīmad Bhāgavata Mahāpurāṇam* is the most popular of the eighteen major Purāṇas. It is divided into twelve Skandhas, which contain 11,000 vv. and describe all the incarnations of Lord Viṣṇu, including Buddha and Kapila. The theme is centred chiefly round the romantic life of Kṛṣṇa (Skandha 10). It contains numerous devotional legends which constitute the basic source of inspiration for the development of the Vaiṣṇava sect and the Bhakti movement. It must have been composed before the eleventh century AD, when it was mentioned for the first time by Vallālasena.

46. There is a note of Typaldos in *Δουργά*, where he announces that, in spite of his earlier promise he would not be able to publish the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* translation by Galanos, since many chapters had either not been translated or were lost in transit and since the cost of publishing this book—estimated at 5,000 Drachmas—"would tax me beyond my means." Cf. Schulz, *Purāṇa*, p. 10.

47. It contains long lists of synonyms and etymologies, but the leaves are bound in a confuse manner. The Arabic and Devanāgarī script have been transliterated into Latin and there are copious etymological notes and speculations in English. For Persian words Galanos cites Burhānqata, Farhangjahangiree and verses from Firdausi's *Shāhnāmah*. Cf. Schulz, *JAOS*, p. 343. See also, Burgi-Kyriazi, op. cit., pp. 72–73. Among the dictionaries found in the house of the deceased Galanos were Richardson's *Persian Dictionary* (2 vols.); Meninski's *Persian Dictionary* (3 vols.) (which Galanos mentioned in his last will); Gladwin's *Hindostanee Dictionary* (2 vols.), Froster's *Bengalee and English Vocabulary*; Carry's *Bengalee and English Dictionary*; a *Bengalee and English Vocabulary*; an *Indian and English Dictionary*, an *Indian Vocabulary*, and thirty-four Persian and Arabic books as well as several English, Greek, French, Latin, and Sanskrit dictionaries, grammars, and books on methods of learning languages.

48. It contains Sanskrit words with Greek subtitles. In MS. no. 1840 many pages are only in Sanskrit. For the completion of this dictionary, Galanos used Colebrook's *Sanskrit Dictionary*; Wilson's *Sanskrit and English Dictionary*; Johnson's Dictionary (2 vols.), and Bailley's *English Dictionary* as well as the Sanskrit *kośas*, *Kalpadrumakośa*, *Hemacandrakośa*, *Amarakośa*, and *Halāyudhakośa*, which perhaps were among the other twenty-nine Sanskrit books found in his house. Recently an increased interest for the edition of this work has been expressed by the Indo-Greek Friendship Society in Athens, but as it is incomplete it could only be used as a basis for a new Sanskrit

Greek dictionary. A few examples, from Galanos' manuscript, are: 1. अजः m. Ajaḥ, -jā, f. -jaṁ, Unborn, ἀγέννητος, ὁ, ἡ, τό. 2. अजः m. Ajaḥ, A goat, τράγος, ὁ. अजा f. Ajā, A she-goat, αἶξ, ἡ, αἰτ. αἶγα.
अतिथिः m. Atithiḥ, Guest, ξένος, ὁ.
देवः m. devaḥ, A deity, θεός. 2. The king, βασιλεύς. 3. Sport, play, ἄθυρμα, τό, παιδιά, ἡ.
धर्मः m. dharmaḥ: Virtue, ἀρετή, ἡ. 2. Duty ἔργον, χρέος, τό. 3. Nature, quality, property, φύσις, ἰδιότης, ἡ. ἰδίωμα, τό. 4. Law, justice, νόμος, ὁ, θεσμός, ὁ, θέμις, ἡ. 5. A name of Yama, the judge of the dead, the Indian Pluton, Πλούτων, ὁ.
यवनः m. Yavanaḥ: A yavana, apparently a Greek, from Ἴων, or from the Persian *yunanée* but generally applied to every foreigner and barbarians.

49. This book is in poor condition and there is an urgent need for its repair. A key to the synonyms of this volume is contained in MS. no. 1853 (p.126) which seems to be an *Amarakośa*.
50. This lexicon is a compilation of the words used at the time of the main Sanskrit *kośas* (viz., *Amarakośa, Hemacandrakośa, Viśvakośa*, and *Medinīkośa*). It was compiled by Kaśīnātha Śarmaṇa (Galanos' manuscript mentions him as Kāśīnātha Śarma) under the patronage of Sir William Jones. The same lexicon was used as a secondary source to produce H.H. Wilson's *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, 1815.
51. See Schulz, *JAOS*, pp. 342–43.
52. The Upaniṣads were translated into Persian by Dārā Shukoh, and perhaps even earlier by the Sanskrit paṇḍits employed in the court of the Emperor Akbar. However, they did not attract the attention of European scholars till the year 1775. In that year Anquetil Duperron, the famous traveller and discoverer of *Zend Avesta*, received two manuscripts of the Persian translation and translated the Upaniṣads into French (not published) and into Latin (Levrault, vol. I, 1801; vol. II, 1802) for the first time. As he did not know Sanskrit the book contained many Persian terms and was utterly unintelligible. This translation attracted considerable interest among scholars, especially by Schopenhauer who had the courage to proclaim the vast treasures of thought which were lying buried beneath that fearful jargon. In 1816, Rājā Rāma Mohan Roy, the social and religious reformer of Bengal, translated the *Kena Upaniṣad* from Sanskrit into English and a few years later the rest of the principal Upaniṣads (sec. ed., London, 1832). The text was edited by E. Röer (*Bibliotheca Indica*, Calcutta, 1853; reprint, Madras, 1931–32) and since then it has been translated by R.A. Hume (Oxford, 1921), and numerous other scholars. See Max Müller, *The Upanishads*, SBE, vol. I, pp. lvii ff.
53. S.A. Schulz, *The Bhagavadgītā in Greek*, unpublished paper.
54. *Γίτα*, Θ, 16–19, (Μεταφρασθεῖσα ἐκ τοῦ Βραχμανικοῦ παρὰ Δημητρίου Γαλανοῦ Ἀθηναίου, *Μπάγκαβατ Γκίτα—Το Θείο Τραγούδι*, p. 148.
55. *Durga*, IV, 8–9, translated by Schulz, *Purāṇa*, p. 19.
56. Cf. Schulz, *Purāṇa*, pp. 14, 20.
57. The books include works by Hesiod, Anacreon, Homer, Demosthenes, Lucian, Pindar, Thucydides, a selection from the Greek poets, Rudiments of the Greek grammar, New method of bearing Greek, *Greek and Latin Lexicon*, Parkhurster's *Greek Lexicon, English and Greek Vocabulary*, a *History of Ancient Greece*, a *Greek Testament*, a ditty lexicon antiquities of Greece, and eighty-three other volumes in Greek and Hebrew.
58. Schulz, *JAOS*, p. 345.
59. *Νεοελληνική Φιλολογία*, Αθήνα, 1868.
60. *Ελεύθερο Βήμα*, 10 Φεβρουαρίου 1937.
61. *Μεγάλη Ἑλληνικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαίδεια*, Παύλου Δραγάκη, s.v. Γαλανός Δημήτριος.

62. *Παράλληλοι Βίοι*, Αθήνα, 1970, Τόμος Γ, σσ. 249-67.
63. "Η Ἑλληνική Κοινότης τῆς Καλκούτας: Ὁ Δημήτριος Γαλανός Πρόδρομος τῆς Ἰνδολογίας," *Ἔθνος*, 28 Σεπτεμβρίου 1949.
64. For an extensive bibliography of articles and reviews about Galanos published in Greek journals and newspapers, see, Burgi-Kyriazi, op. cit., pp. 153–57.
65. *Ιστορία των Θρησκευμάτων*, τόμος Α, Τα Ινδικά Θρησκεύματα, [Εκδόσεις Π. Πουρνάρα, Θεσ/νικη 1996 (1986, 90; 92)], σσ. 79-84.
66. *Ανιχνεύσεις*, (Perigramma, Athens, 1992), pp. 9–22.
67. Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religion, (Oxford, 1908), II, 105–13; The same article was reprinted by the Hellinikos Philologikos Syllogos, (Constantinople, 1911), XXXII, pp. 144–52, and the Journal *Hellinismos* (Athens, 1930). Cf. Schulz, *Bhāratī*, p. 82, n. 1.
68. Burgi-Kyriazi, op. cit., p.157.
69. The letter of Maria Burgi-Kyriazi was read in the Academy's session held on 23 February 1978 under the presidency of Michael Stassinopoulos.
70. See abbreviations Gal. [=Gal(anos Dictionary)], e.g. Catur:.., the fish Cyprinus Rohta. Gal.; Yāveya: a field of barley, Gal.; Raktavatī or Raktāvaratī: f. small-pox, L. (the former also chemorrhoids, Gal.; Raktavastrin, m = yogin, Gal.; Glā, ās: f. = glāni, Gal.; Cakshush-karṇa: m, = °kshuh-śravas Gal.; Pañcala:... a river, Gal.; Jalānila: m. a kind of Crab, Gal.; Jal-padavī: f. = -nirgama, Gal.; Jal-parṇikā: f. N. of a plant, Gal.; Jal-paryāya: m. a kind of andropogon, Gal; Jal-prasaraṇa, n. flowing off from water, oil, Gal., etc.
71. E. Kuhn's paper was not published, but Pavolini's remarks on Galanos' *Bhagavad Gītā* and *Devīmāhātmyam* published in *Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana*, (1912 and 1916). Cf. Schulz, *Bhāratī*, p. 82, n. 2.
72. Op. cit., vol. 1, p. 618, n. 1. See also, ibid., p. 673.
73. Cf. *History of Indian Literature*, vol. III, part I, pp. 81, n. 4, 151, 159, n. 3, 164, 165, n. 3 and part 2 (1967 ed.), p. 461, (1985 ed.) p. 499, respectively.
74. *New Catalogus Catalogorum*, an alphabetical register of Sanskrit and allied works and authors, etc., (University of Madras, incomplete; twelve volumes have been edited so far from A to Pradhyāna, 1949–88). The references to Galanos' works are *ItihāsaSamuccaya*, vol. II, p. 246; *Devīmāhātmyam*, vol. IX, p. 145; *Laghu-cāṇakya*, vol. VII, p. 7.
75. For references and some additional comments on German publications about Galanos, see Schulz, *Bhāratī*, pp. 82–83. Burgi-Kyriazi's bibliography includes: P.E. Pavolini, *L'opera di Demetrio Galanos*, Firenze, 1913; Johannes Irmscher, "Dimitrios Galanos und die Anfdnge der Indologie in Griechenland," *Révue d' Etudes Sud-Est Europ.*, X, 4, Bucarest, 1972, pp. 669–77.
76. "Que esta Sociedad que ahora nace sirva para ayudar a los múltiples Galanos, que extranjeros en el extranjero, alimentan en secreto el germen dorado de la xenofilia." *Cuaderno Sociedad De Estudios Índicos Y Orientales*, edited by Raimon Panikkar, Madrid, no. O, September 1994.
77. Schulz' publications on Galanos include: "A Greek in India: Galanos," *Bhāratī*, pp. 81–102; "Demetrios Galanos—A Greek Scholar in India," *German Scholars on India*, pp. 251–63; "D. Galanos (1760–1833)," *GI*, pp. xiii–xx, (this volume has been dedicated to the Memory of D. Galanos: A Greek Sanskritist of Benares); "Demetrios Galanos (1760–1833): A Greek Indologist," *JAOS*, pp. 339–56. "The Devīmāhātmya in Greek: D. Galanos translation," *Purāṇa*, op. cit. Schulz has also worked on the *Bhagavad Gītā* of Galanos but this important paper remains uncompleted.
78. Schulz, *JAOS*, pp. 343–47.
79. Schulz, *Purāṇa*.

80. Baladeva Upādhyāya, (Ācārya Paṇḍit), "Ḍemetriyas Gailenos-Kāśīvāsī ek yūnānī saṁskṛtajña," in *Kāśī kī Pāṇḍitya Paramparā*, (in Hindi), Viśvavidyālaya Prakāśan, Vārāṇasī, first ed., 1983 (second ed., 1994), pp. (k) 269–70. Upādhyāya's article on Galanos was based upon Schulz's article published in the *German Scholars on India*.
81. Upādhyāya, op. cit., p. (k) 271, (translated from Hindi).
82. *Μεγάλη Ἑλληνικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαίδεια*, Παύλου Δραγάκη, VIII, p. 43, (trans.).
83. Op. cit., p. 93, (trans.).
84. *Bhāratī*, p. 102. See also, the reproachful remarks of Schulz in *GI*, p. xx; *JAOS*, p. 356.
85. *Μπάγκαβατ Γκίτα—Το Θείο Τραγούδι*, p. 65, (trans.).

Chapter 5

Contemporary Greeks in India

THE GREEK COMMUNITY IN BENGAL

There is now tangible evidence indicating that the settlement of Greek merchants in Bengal must have began as early as the beginning of the seventeenth century. This is evinced in the discovery of two Greek tombstones, dated 1713 and 1728, preserved in the aisles of the Catholic Cathedral of the Virgin Mary of the Holy Rosary in Murgihatta, Calcutta.[1] A significant number of Greek families migrated to Bengal mainly from the rich Thracian cities of Andrianoupolis and Philippoupolis, when their properties were destroyed during the Turko-Russian War in 1774. Another steady stream of immigrants arrived in the Eastern ports of India on the ships which carried British colonialists from the Ionian Islands as well as from the depressed Greek cities in Cappadocia and the Aegean Islands. In the beginning of the nineteenth century the Greek community in Bengal was comprised of about 120 families. Most of them were residing in the metropolitan city of Calcutta, which then had a population of 800,000 people.[2]

All the authorities have recognised Panagiotes Alexandros Argyres of Philippoupolis as the leader and true founder of the Greek mercantile community in Bengal. This honourable recognition was apparently bestowed upon him due to the association of his name with a fabulous story concerning the erection of the first Greek Orthodox church in Calcutta.

This story says that in 1770 Panagiotes Alexandros Argyres (also known as Chatze Alexis) accompanied Captain Thornhill as an interpreter on the ship 'Alexander.' The vessel, caught in a severe storm, was taking on water and about to sink, when Argyres vowed to build a church in Calcutta if he ever reached that city. His prayers were heard and the ship landed safely. Argyres approached the Governor of Bengal, Sir Warren Hastings, with a petition signed by all the Greek merchants, requesting permission to build the church. Unfortunately, he died in 1777 in Dhaka, before he could fulfil his promise. In spite of this, the work began with thirty thousand rupees contributed by his estate. The church, dedicated to The Transfiguration of Christ on Mount Tabor (Η ΜΕΤΑΜΟΡΦΩΣΙΣ ΤΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ), was built in the year 1780 in a suburb known then as Dhee Calcutta, which was

later renamed Amratollah. The names of the founders and benefactors have been inscribed for posterity on a marble stone which is placed in the interior of the church. On it are mentioned H.E. Warren Hastings,[3] the Archimandrite Parthenios of Corfu, Alexandros Argyres, Georgios Michael Mauroeides-Bairaktaroglous, Christodoulos Mauroeides, Georgios and Aggelike Leontiou, the family of Athanasios Metsos, Michael Andreades, and various Greek and British merchants of Bengal in the year 1774.

The first priest to officiate in the church was Father Constantinos Parthenios (d. 1803), a monk of Mount Sinai and a native of Corfu, who is said to have served as the model for the Christ in John Zoffany's famous painting of 'The Last Supper' now hanging in St. John's church.[4] Some other outstanding priests who served in the church at other times were: Nicophoros and Ananias, from the monastery of Mount Sinai, who had occasionally performed the Greek liturgy in private houses before the construction of the church; Nathaniel of Siphnos, "a splendid example of learning and virtue" in the words of Galanos, who died in Dhaka in 1810; Dionysios of Mudana, who was blamed by Galanos as "the cause of dishonour to our nation" because he was highly critical of his predecessor Nathaniel of Siphnos; Paisios of Salonica; Gregorios of Siphnos; the Archimandrite Veniamin; Gregorios of Siphnos, the only priest sent by the Orthodox Patriarchate of Constantinople and officiated the first liturgy in the newly constructed church in Dhaka in 1812; Ambrosios Ghimouschanales from the Mount Sinai who replaced Gregorios of Siphnos and was himself replaced by Ananias of Seres, who wrote the first codex of the church; Father Gabriel, Joseph of Zakynthos, and the Archimandrite Athanasios Alexiou.

The Greek immigrants faced several problems in adjusting themselves to their new homes, but they did not forget their relatives in Greece, who were preparing to revolt against the Ottoman rule. And when the secret network, responsible for the revolution, known as Society of the Friends (Φιλική Έταιρεία) asked assistance from the prosperous Greek communities abroad, the Greeks in Bengal responded rapidly. They gathered in the Orthodox church in Calcutta on the second day of Easter in the year 1802 and made the following historical vow:

> In the year of our Lord 1802, in the Spring and Easter of our Lord, all the Greek traders residing in Calcutta from Pontos, and Bithynia, and Cappadocia, and Aeolia, and the land of Ionia, and mainland Greece, and islands, and Barbaria (North Africa), and Egypt, and Constantinople, and from all over the world, we gathered in the temple, in the evening after the divine service of the second day of the resurrection, and gave a sacred vow. We shall place in custody in Calcutta our unnecessary money and gold and silver and other property for the resurrection of the race of the Greeks. And none will ever put a hand on them. They will

be bestowed to the kingdom of the Greeks so that with the grace of God it will be resurrected.[5]

The Greeks, who were engaged in trade, were apparently very prosperous, as is suggested by the significant capital that they handed to the Greek authorities and by their constant support to the Greek revolution. They also supported the struggle for liberation of the Greeks in North Epiros during the years 1914-18 as well as the refugees who escaped the genocide of the Asia Minor Greeks by Kemal Ataturk in 1922-24.

In the year 1920, the Greek community decided to sell the old building of the church and the surrounding land, which was used as a cemetery, as well as several houses which belonged to the church. With the collected money, they bought a piece of land in the central area of Kalighat, near the famous temple of the Hindu Goddess Kālī. There, they constructed the new church in a magnificent Doric style of architecture along with a double-storied residence for the priest. The cemetery was moved to a site outside the city. The new church kept the old name and began its work in 1924.

Other important Greek settlements were established in Dhaka and in its port, Narayanganj. In 1812,[6] the Greek immigrants built a church dedicated to Saint Thomas a little distance inside the Muqim Kuttra Road (east of Chowk Bazar) in Dhaka and in 1840 they had their own school. Priests, who served also as teachers for the Greek children of the community, were appointed from Mount Sinai. The church was partly destroyed in a severe earthquake in 1897 and was abandoned. Two latest references were found in the archives of the Greek community of the years 1907 and 1911 which describe the condition of the church in dark colours.[7] The Greek community in Calcutta was anxious to find out why the church was deserted and the cemetery's tombs neglected, but they could not prevent their final distraction. The marble and the tombstones were stolen by the local people and the surrounding wall had fallen down.

In 1913, the colonial government decided to expropriate the land of the Greek church and the Greek-Armenian cemetery for the construction of the Mitford Medical College (now renamed as Sir Salimullah Medical College Hospital). According to Father Halvatzakes-Velladios, the architect of the college was a Greek, named Doxiades, who requested the local authorities to convert the portico of the church to a Greek monument. The portico of the church was probably moved to the cite of the old Greek cemetery in Ramna, that existed before the construction of the Greek church at Chowk Bazar, as it is indicated by the dates given on six (out of nine) remaining gravestones. The first picture of the monument appeared in the Calcutta newspaper *The Statesman* on 28 February 1915. This was accompanied by an article reporting that the old Greek cemetery that existed on

the right side of the Ramna Road was abandoned and that the local people were stealing the tombstones for the construction of their own buildings. Father Middleton MacDonald, a British military priest, requested the chief engineer of the East Bengal to take better care of the place. Finally, Lord Carmichael, the then Governor of Bengal, ordered the construction of a monument in a Doric style. In the interior of the monument nine gravestones of the Greek cemetery were placed for protection. After the request of Mr. Magos and the Ralli brothers (who probably donated the money for the design and construction of the monument), Athanassios Alexiou, the Archimandrite of the Greek community in Calcutta, came to Dhaka for the inauguration. The Archimandrite appeared in the centre of the photograph along with the Anglican Tsaplain and members of the Greek community.

Six years later, in 1921, the construction of the University of Dhaka began on the same site. The Greek monument was left undisturbed and it can be seen today in the campus near the Teacher-Student Centre (T.S.C.) facing towards the campus wall at Kazi Nazrul Islam Road. The monument suffered heavy damage during the War of Independence in 1971 (and perhaps earlier, in 1952, during the students' agitation for making Bengali the official language), but it was reconstructed a few years later. Additional cosmetic repairs were made in 1997 at the expense of the Greek Embassy in New Delhi.[8]

The four sides of the ancient Greek temple-like building are all the same. In the interior are preserved nine gravestone inscriptions in Greek and English. On the pediment is written the following Biblical inscription on marble slabs, "ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΙ ΟΥΣ ΕΞΕΛΕΞΩ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΣΕΛΑΒΟΥ," which translated means, "Blessed are those whom You chose and took with You."[9] Father Halvatzakes-Velladios' article[10] has a sketch showing a cross on the top of the monument, but this is no longer present.

The last priest to preside over the Greek community of Bengal was Father Constantinos Halvatzakes-Velladios, who, in collaboration with the Greek Embassy in New Delhi, collected fifty thousand important documents from the archives of the Greek community in Bengal and from other Greeks who were living in the cities of Madras, Bombay, and Darjeeling. The oldest of these documents were written on papyrus from the eighteenth century and were in bad condition. The documents included: administrative records of the Greek communities, management books, bulky envelops (containing correspondence letters with the Ecumenical Patriarchate, the monasteries of Mount Sinai, the Greek governments, and the government of Bengal), and records of private importance.[11] Father Halvatzakes-Velladios became immediately aware of the historical significance of these documents and, seeing the decline of the Greek community, decided to send them to the Archdiocese of Athens with the hope that they

will be handed to scholars for further study. He also published several articles in the Athenian Journal "Nea Estia." These covered topics such as the visit of the Russian CzarevitchAlexandros to the Greek community of Bengal, the Greek monument in Dhaka, and information about the Greek prisoners in Burma. Also, in his books *Elladios*[12] and *The Greeks of Pontos in India,*[13] he published his memories as a priest in Calcutta in the form of short essays, along with biographies of some notable Greeks in India, and some important documents related to the last will of the philhellene Spaniard widow Anna Rebeireo, resident of Calcutta, who died on February 11, 1785 and donated her property to the Greek priest Constantinos Parthenios.

The Greek community in Bengal that became the main vehicle of communication between the Greek and Indian peoples for two and half centuries, came to an end with the political and economic crisis in the state of Bengal in the middle of this century. The Ralli brothers sold their jute factory at Narayanganj in the 1960s and the only remains that exist to remind us of the Greeks in Bengal are the well preserved neo-classical Orthodox church "Holy Transfiguration," the Cemetery Chapel of Prophet Elias in the historic Orthodox cemetery in Calcutta with numerous tombstones and monuments of Greek, Serbian, and Russian immigrants dating back to the eighteenth century, and the small ancient Greek temple-like building on the campus of Dhaka University.

A few long-term Greek residents are the descendants of those who had intermarried with Indians. A predominant intellectual was Mrs. Maximiani Potras alias Savitri Devi Mukherjee, born in 1905 to a Greek father and English mother. She completed her M.Sc. and Ph.D. in literature in France and in 1940 married Asit Krishna Mukherjee, a Calcutta lawyer, who published the Pro-Nazi periodical "New Mercury" from 1935 until the British closed it down in 1937. In her autobiography, *Souvenirs et Reflections d'une Aryenne (Memories and Reflections of anAryan Lady)* she expressed several ideas concerning the natural hierarchy of the races; the Nordic Āryan Invasion Theory, and the purity of the caste system.[14]

In more recent times, Paul Byron Norris, a fifth generation descendant of Panagiotes Alexandros Argyres, who resides permanently in London, searched with great passion through the British historical archives to discover the cultural identity of his ancestors in Bengal. This led to his authoring in English a book entitled *Ulysses in the Raj.* Therein he compiles in a knowledgeable, enticing and pleasant manner, abundant details about the Greek trade in India, the Greek Orthodox Church in Bengal, and the development of the Hellenic settlements in Bengal and northern India from the beginning of the seventeenth century onwards. In this unique account, the author follows the histories of some of the most notable families of the Greek community in Bengal such as the Rallis, the Corphiots, and the

Paniotys from their origins in Greece to their settlement and development in India. He also dedicates chapters to the founder of the Greek community, Panagiotes Alexandros Argyres; the notable merchant, Alexander Paniotys; 'the Athenian Brahmin' Galanos; the mercenary Alexander Gika; and the 'patriotic pirate' Nicholas Kephalas. In the book's appendices he includes details of a great number of the known Greek merchants in Bengal between 1750 and 1853.

The Greek community had been flourishing in Bengal for centuries, but the Greek priests were mainly concerned with the fulfilment of the spiritual and religious needs of the Greek community. They did not interfere in the beliefs and religious practices of the Indians. It was only later, in 1980, that the systematic missionary work began by Father Athanasios Anthides, a Greek priest from Egypt who had already a life-long experience in Christian missions in Africa. Father Athanasios, zealously inspired by his mission, came to India and established himself in the rural area of Arambagh which is located one hundred and fifty kilometres from Calcutta. There he built a small Orthodox church in the memory of the Apostle Thomas and a house for the appointed priest. In spite of his old age and health problems he worked tirelessly and succeeded in developing small Orthodox centres in fourteen villages. He also set up his own press and translated liturgical and catechetical books into the local language. He continued to work alone without discouragement, even though his constant letters to Greece asking for support and workers did not meet with any response. Finally, he died and was buried in India on November 28, 1990.[15]

One year after the death of Father Athanasios, Father Ignatios Pavlos Sennis, a Greek monk from the holy monastery of Stavronikita in Mount Athos, was appointed by the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople to take over the management of the Greek Orthodox church in Calcutta. Initially, he reconstructed the building of the church and the nearby residence of the priest, which were in bad condition due to their abandonment for the past eighteen years. After the reconstruction was completed, he began a substantial and extensive social welfare mission in Calcutta and its surrounding territories. Father Ignatios, encouraged by Sister Nektaria Paradeise's overall dedication, and by the financial and physical support of numerous Greeks from Greece, U.S.A., Australia, and elsewhere, founded the Philanthropic Society of the Greek Orthodox Church. This society provides free medical care and distributes food and other essentials to those in need. The Philanthropic Society built an orphanage for fifty-five boys and one orphanage for two hundred girls is under construction. Also, it established three medical centres, two elementary schools in the villages of Satal and Arabhas, and three new Orthodox churches, "Saint Charalambos," "Holy Trinity," and "St. Nicholas" for the spiritual needs of the Christians resid-

ing in the villages Akhina, Thrakuranichak, and Nerandrachak respectively. Also, Orthodox churches are under construction in Bandar and Gospur.[16]

TWO EMINENT LADIES

In the last century technological changes, migration, international trade and mass communication have brought unprecedented encounters amongst people from different cultural and ideological backgrounds. Everywhere, we observe a rapid spread of information about Occidental and Oriental traditions. Thousands of sectarian and religious centres have been established and innumerable books printed which introduce Indian, Tibetan, Chinese, Japanese, Christian and many other philosophical ideas and disciplines to different parts of the world.

Swami Vivekananda (with the mission for the social uplift of India, now known as Ramakrishna Mission), Paramahamsa Yogananda (with the Self-Realisation Foundation), Maharshi Mahesh Yogi (with Transcendental Meditation), Paramahamsa Satyananda (with the Yoga door to door mission), Srila Prabhupada (with his movement for Krishna Consciousness, known as ISKCON), Bhagwan Rajneesh (with liberal Neo-samnyāsa), H.H. the Dalai Lama (with Tibetan Buddhism), and the philosopher J. Krishnamurti are just a few examples of some of India's most renowned religious and spiritual teachers who visited and established centres in the West; some of them approached Greece directly.[17] As a consequence of such outreach, much interest was generated and many people have come to India in search of self-realisation, spiritual truth and a better understanding of Indian religious and philosophical traditions.

Among the Greeks who came to India in search of spiritual fulfilment we might describe briefly the journeys and experiences of two distinguished ladies belonging to different cultural and ideological backgrounds—Sister Gavrilia alias Aurelia Papagianne, a missionary of love, and Queen Frederice, one of the most esteemed followers of the Vedāntic teachings.

Aurelia Papagianne, who became popularly known in India as 'Lila of Greece' and later as Sister Gavrilia was born in Constantinople in 1897. She was the fourth child of Elias Papagiannes, a rich merchant and representative of the French company Messagerie de France. Her mother Victoria was daughter of the doctor Christakes, who served as medical attendant to the Sultan. Aurelia Papagianne received her early education at the Zappeio School of Girls and then continued her studies at the Agricultural School of Estavayer-Le-Lac in Switzerland. In 1923, after the exchange of the Greek and Turkish populations, she migrated with her family to Salonica. There she attended classes in the Philosophical School and was the second

Greek lady to study at a University. In 1932, she went to Athens where she worked as a nurse and a teacher of English and French. Five years later she departed for what she intended to be a short visit to London, but was forced to stay there for eight years due to the Second World War. During that time she received the degree of physiotherapist and worked in various clinics. With the end of the war, she returned to Greece and became the director of the American Farm School in Salonica. In 1947, she opened her own clinic in Athens and travelled frequently to U.S.A. and England to assist the orphans of the war.

A significant change took place in the life of Papagianne at the age of fifty-seven on the day of her mother's death. She used to say:

> From that day I had cut my boundaries with this world. The only path that was open to me was to sell all my possessions, distribute them among the poor and respond to the Christ's call, "Follow Me!" But to where? And the message came suddenly...INDIA. That! was my destiny! But until then, I did not have any special contact with India, apart from the innate respect that we as Greeks have for the ancient and holy civilisations and from the knowledge that the Indians, like the Greeks, possessed that psychic delicacy which grows out of cultivating once inner wisdom. I knew also that there there were wise-men, who, and in our own times, dedicate their lives to God.[18]

Fourteen months later and after an adventurous overland journey, Papagianne arrived in India. She spent the first days in Delhi and then she departed for the Ashram of Swami Sivananda, the Divine Life Society in Rishikesh at the foothills of Himalayas. She was welcomed by Sivananda himself who smiled and said "welcome to the descendant of Pythagoras." In the Ashram of Sivananda, which had a hospital for the poor and a residential therapy centre for lepers, Papagianne served for seven months and published a small illustrated book about various techniques in physiotherapy. During her residence there she observed the Indian monastic life which included many hours of silence, study of the holy scriptures, hospitality, continuous prayer, rituals, fasting, austerity, etc. She was much impressed by the Indian religiosity and felt that this aspect of the Indian lifestyle was similar to the ancient Greek spiritual tradition. She also developed a good friendship with the Indian monks, especially Swami Chindananda, the successor of Sivananda, who later, due to her influence, came to Greece and visited Mount Athos. In a letter addressed to her, twenty years later, Swami Chidananda wrote:

> Your spirit of servicefullness and your enthusiasm for the service of fellow beings, evoked an immediate response in the heart of Beloved Gurudev Sri Swami Sivananda Maharaj. It was an uplifting and elevating experience to witness the spiritual sympathy that sprang up between your two souls, who came from such a distance apart and totally different backgrounds. Yet, nevertheless,

> it brought home to us the existence of an unmistakable inner connection between the culture of Greece and ancient Indian culture. For you did not seem to us a stranger at all. This was from the very beginning. So it was to me at least.[19]

Papagianne left Rishikesh for Dehradun where she taught in the Adult Blind Centre. Her next steps led her to Warora, at the Anand-wan, the lepers village of the famous Baba Amte. There she developed a deep relationship with Amte's wife and their two children, Vikash and Prakash, whom she nicknamed Plato and Socrates. She became part of their family, and this relationship continued throughout her life. In letters addressed to her in 1986 they urged her to return: "Come again to India, come to your family."

Her first visit in Anand-wan lasted two months. During this time she served as a nurse and as a teacher of English. But soon she realised that this was not her exclusive mission. She was writing to Baba Amte from Delhi on the 1st October 1956, "I came to India without any special reason . . . as you know, the entire world is my country. I am interested for all the creatures of God without any discrimination—not only for the lepers."[20]

From February 1956 she began her visits to spiritual and medical centres throughout India. Lucknow, Jaipur, Ahmedabad, Mumbai, Poona, Uruli, Kanshan, Bangalore, Madras, Pondicherry, Calcutta, Shantiniketan, Patna, Varanasi, Allahabad, Kashmir, and other cities offered her temporary hospitality. Always ready to answer the calls for her physiotherapeutic teachings and services, she travelled frequently in third class train compartments, and lived without possessions and money. Soon, her charismatic personality became widely known within the medical, spiritual, and political worlds of India. Additionally, her connections with distinguished personalities abroad helped to raise funds from international organisations for philanthropic missions.

After four years in India, Papagianne travelled up to Uttar Kashi in the Himalayas, with the aim to stay permanently there and create a hospital for lepers. She dedicated eleven months to service, retreat and meditation, but her original plan to create a hospital was not materialised. In Uttar Kashi she had several spiritual visions and received the message to adopt the Christian monastic way of life. Therefore on the 4th August 1959, she departed from India for her new destination.

Subsequently, she became a nun receiving the name 'Sister Gavrilia'. As a missionary she travelled throughout the world. In 1963 she came once again to India with Father Lazaros who established an Orthodox church at Sat Tal in Nainital. She visited her Indian family in Anand-wan and in Delhi she had a surprising meeting with two disciples of Sivananda, who recognised her as their sister: "Now you are our real sister. Now we feel

you even more near to us. You are in monastic robe and we are in monastic robe." On 4 October 1966 she departed for Athens and has not returned to India since then. However, she maintained close communications with numerous friends in India whom she helped in various ways.

Sister Gavrilia often recounted to her disciples the experiences she had in India which had enriched her soul. After her death in 1992, Nun Gavrilia, one of her disciples, composed her biography in one volume entitled, *The Asceticism of Love*. In this book we learn of her faith, teachings and the love she put into practice. In India her conception of Christianity broadened to include all those who dedicated their lives to the service of the poor and the sick, even if not in the name of Christ. Her main objection to Indian spirituality was the worship of Guru as God, in keeping with her firm belief in the uniqueness of Christ.

Her attitude towards the other foreigners who came from Europe and America to initiate themselves into the Indian spiritual paths was also sceptical and critical. She used to say: "They came in search of Him whom they already had." In a letter dated 15 March 1964, addressed to Baba Amte, she wrote, " These foreigners, who take the path to India, are the prodigal sons of the Gospel. Usually this attraction they feel is mixed with pride---to become known because they will not have succeeded if they had stayed in their tradition, in their country."[21]

However, this bitter assessment seems not to have always been accurate as several eminent foreigners were coming to India for self-realisation and freedom from the illusion of worldly success that holds a predominant position in the western world. One such eminent lady, who had just began her search of spiritual values in India, was Queen Frederice of Greece.[22]

In 1964, the then-ruler of Greece, King Pavlos (1901-1964), founded the 'Athens Meeting.' The purpose of this meeting was to give world thinkers and scientists the opportunity of proclaiming the ideals and inspirations of contemporary man. Pavlos died prematurely and was succeeded by his son, Constantinos who arranged the second meeting in 1966. Among the six guests invited to Athens to deliver their chosen lectures was the Indian, T.M.P. Mahadevan, a genuine Advaitin and Professor of philosophy from the University of Madras, who spoke about the Indian Heritage. The Queen Mother Frederice and Princess Irene, who were already familiar with Indian philosophy, particularly the Advaita teachings of Ramana Maharshi, utilised the opportunity to meet the Indian scholar and discussed with him several subjects concerning meditation and the wisdom of the Indian sages. A few months later, following the advice of Mahadevan, mother and daughter came to India to meet H.H. the Śaṅkarācārya of Kāñcī, who was revered by many as a great sage. The interview between the royal visitors and the Hindu spiritual leader took place on the fourth and fifth

December 1966 in the city of Kālahasti, about eighty miles north-west of Madras. The questions raised by the royal party concerned techniques of retaining the meditative experience in dreams, the preservation of equanimity of the mind in hostile circumstances, the distinction between nirvikalpa, savikalpa and sahaja-samādhi, and the duties of a leader. Later, the Queen Mother expressed her impressions of this meeting in the following words, "The two days we spent in his company will never be forgotten. There was pure spirituality. What strange fate has brought us close to him."

They subsequently brought other members of their family to India. On one visit there were as many as twenty-one members of the party coming from three generations of family. After a few years the Queen Mother and Princess Irene started to live in Madras. They attended Mahadevan's lectures at the University and listened to the discourses of the Śaṅkarācārya of Kāñcī at Śaṅkara Vihāra. The Queen Mother wrote of her experiences and her rather confused philosophy in a book entitled, *A Measure of Understanding,* which was translated into Greek in the same year.[23] She also contributed a short article about her last visit to the Indian sage at Miraj in April 1980[24] to India was in 1980. One year later she died in Madrid.[25]

Mahadevan's contact with Greeks extended beyond royal circles. His interviews, advocating individual and universal peace, were published in the Athenian newspapers and his fame was spread all over Greece. Also, he wrote the forward for *Plato and the Upanishads*, a book by Vassilis Vitsaxis (ambassador of Greece to India at the time). Theodore Bitos, a Greek scholar, who attended Mahadevan's lectures for four years at the Centre for Advanced Study in Philosophy of the University of Madras, acknowledged him in the preface of his Ph.D. thesis: ". . . to the profound simplicity of his lectures, I attended during four years, I owe my non-committed admiration and work on Advaita." Bitos also attributed part of his inspiration to the Śaṅkarācārya of Kāñcī:

> A feeling of great reverence towards the sage of Kāñcī, Śrī Candraśekharendra Sarasvatī, made me always think that even this incomplete work on Advaita, might be of use in the pursuit of spiritual resources. My rare encounters with the sage of Kāñcī convinced me that a consolidation in the search of the spirituality may be derived from the study of Advaitic works and from the presence of a Jīvan-Mukta.

Such connections by Greeks with Indian traditions have resulted in a growing familiarity and respect for Oriental philosophies. However, Indian philosophies have at times also been regarded, (and not always unjustifiably so), with fear and suspicion by some people. Mahadevan's objection that foreigners were not converted to Hinduism, because Hinduism does not believe in conversion from one formal faith to another,[26] is

true only as regards to the Brāhmaṇic tradition (Daśanāmi Parampara), which is mainly preserved by the institutions of the four Śaṅkarācāryas. However, the majority of Neo-Hindu leaders do not belong to the Brāhmaṇic tradition and have initiated into their self-founded sects people from different parts of the world—without any distinction. Studies in such sensitive fields as philosophy and religion are often subjected to proselytising considerations which threaten to reduce spirituality to mere tools of oppression. Unfortunately, the increasing need for a more responsible professoriate and a more accountable integrated education is given little consideration by most political and ideological leaders.

INDOLOGICAL STUDIES IN GREECE

Modern Greek scholars in general have circumscribed their research within the political and ideological boundaries of the present-day state. Subsequently, a great part of the Hellenic cultural heritage, that which lies in the lands of Asia Minor, Italy, Egypt, Syria, India, and other places has been left out. The truth of the forgotten culture in India has been expressed with a unique sensibility by Constantinos Kavafes, the genius poet of Alexandria, "And here at once, how one stops, how the Greek (grekos) is touched reading Greek, Hermaeos Eukratides, Straton, Menander."[27] Similar views were expressed by the renowned historian, Sir William Tarn, who condemned the exclusion of the history of the Indo-Greeks from European history.

> It is unfortunate that in Britain, and I think everywhere, the story of the Greeks in India has been treated as part of the history of India alone. For in the history of India the episode of Greek rule has no meaning; it is really part of the history of Hellenism, and that is where its meaning resides.[28]

Nevertheless, other examples of interaction in the fields of arts, literature, anthropology, history, and philosophy, have taken place. India's rich culture has provided inspiration to several contemporary Greek scholars, poets, writers, and artists.

At the turn of the century the study of Sanskrit attracted the interest of Greek scholars and developed into two different schools—the Eptanesian (Ionian Islands) school under European influence and the philological society at Constantinople under Oriental influence. Constantinos Theotokes of Corfu, the most distinguished Greek Sanskritist in modern times, wrote *The History of Indian Literature*[29] in Greek for the first time, and in collaboration with the poet Lorentsos Maviles of Ithaca translated the story of *Mahābhārata*, "Nala and Damayantī."[30]

Nikos Kazanzakes (1883-1957), the most renowned contemporary Greek writer, travelled extensively in Asia and synthesised in his novels Greek

drama, Christian ethics, and Buddhist metaphysics. He also had close contacts with Josephine MacLeod, who introduced to the Greek writer the work of her teacher and friend Swami Vivekananda.[31] A French edition of the *Teachings of Sri Ramakrishna* (*L'Enseignement de Ramakrichna*) by Jean Herbert can still be found today in the library of his house in Herakleion, Crete.

The lyric poet Angelos Sikelianos (1884-1951) shared similar inspirations with his Indian contemporary Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941) and both founded spiritual movements to promote global understanding. The poet Alexandros Palles (1851-1935), who worked in Rallis' commercial house in India, and the freelance journalist Dennis Denopoulos (1946-) have also transferred some Indian thoughts in their works.

Travels to India became more frequent during recent years and a few articles and travelogues appeared in Greek magazines and newspapers. Prince Petros (grandson of King George A and first cousin of King George B and King Pavlos), travelled from Athens to Calcutta and showed a special interest in topics related to anthropological issues in the region of Darjeeling. He published his cross-national impressions in one volume just before the beginning of the Second World War.[32]

More recently, Tzannis Tzannetakis, who served in 1989 as Prime Minister in an uncustomary and short-lived coalition government of the Conservative and Left parties, made an informal journey to India and observed the ancient monuments and the socio-religious aspects of the Indian traditions. His response was the authorship of a book, entitled *India: Another Way of Life*.[33] In this book, Tzannetakis guides the reader through the colourful cities of India, sharing his reflections and wonder that arise spontaneously as he confronts a country burdened with serious financial and social problems but rich in cultural heritage, ideas, and spirit. Also, he analyses the socio-religious aspects and the past and present values of the Indian life. The entire chapter "Gandhi and Nehru—the Founders of Modern India" deserves serious consideration by our present policy planners. Tzannetakis also wrote in 1961 a selection of the Upaniṣads[34] with an introduction and commentary of his own.

Theodora Constanta, a leading journalist in National Television of Greece (ERT) and National Television of Italy (RAI), travelled extensively in the states of Maharashtra, Haryana, Rajasthan, Punjab, Kashmir and Uttar Pradesh. She published her narratives and descriptions of the people she met during these journeys in the Italian newspaper *Giornale d' Italia*.[35]

A wide variety of personal descriptions of India, approached from radically different vantage points, were also written. Katia Antonopoulou's *My India*[36] is an illustrated book that brings vividly alive her encounter with the festive India and the purity of her people. This was followed by her

second book, *In the Land of the Chastes—From My India to Pakistan*,[37] an account of her courageous exploration to areas in India, Pakistan, and Afghanistan, prohibited to the tourists. Alexandra Colovou's *Namaste*[38] is also an illustrated book that describes her experiences with the culture of South India that survived from ancient times without real threat of extinction. Tatiana Gritse-Milliex' *Travelling in India*[39] is the story of an aristocratic lady wise enough to react with humour and gentleness as she finds herself astonished by the amazing contrasts of India. And Phaidon Patrikalakes, author of *India a Country where the People Fly and the Birds Walk*,[40] is a magnificent storyteller who appreciates the counterpoint of the Indian life when seen as a stimulating alternative to the Western rational approach.

Manouel (Manoles) Tasoulas motivated by an interest in Indian cinema, wrote a well-researched, comprehensive biography of the renowned actress Nargis, as well as a monograph on Indian cinema and articles about playback singers such as Lata Mangeshkar, and about other Indian actors who became known in Greece in the 1960s.[41]

In 1989, the film director Menelaos Karamaghiolis produced a courageous masterpiece, a documentary film about the historical and sociological reality of the gypsies in Greece and Europe today. The documentary is based on the preserved myths, songs, and oral tradition of gypsies and investigates the possible roots of these people who are known to have migrated from India to Europe in the fourteenth or fifteenth century AD.[42]

The late Samian metaphysician and archaeologist, Nikolaos Mariores, studied for eleven years in India and for three years in Tibet. With his return to Greece he followed in the footsteps of his compatriot Pythagoras, founding the philosophical school 'Omakoion' in Athens with branches in the cities of Lamia and Trikala. He wrote thirty-two books, mainly concerning metaphysical problems, three of which deal with Indian philosophy. These are: *Hatha Yoga* (Athens, 1976), *Raja Yoga* (Athens, 1983), and *The Law of Karma* (Athens, 1989). His most popular book, however, seems to be *Dravidians: The Pre-Hellenic Greeks*.[43] In this book he refers, in a simplified way, to scientific discoveries and ancient sources which claim that the Dravidians originated from the Lycians (known to Greeks as Τερμίλες) and that they then migrated inprehistoric times from the Aegean Islands and Asia Minor to India.

Ioannis Manettas, like many other Greeks from Alexandria, focused his interest in Oriental philosophies and languages. He visited India for first time in 1953 and was associated with the Ramakrishna Mission. He translated into Greek the *Gospel of Sri Ramakrishna*,[44] Vivekananda's four works on yoga (*Jnana-yoga*,[45] *Raja-yoga*,[46] *Bhakti-yoga*,[47] and *Karma-yoga*[48]), as well as other important works of the Ramakrishna Mission.[49] For Greeks, Manettas' scholarly and dedicated contribution to Indian studies makes his

work an essential part of any effort towards understanding both the classical and contemporary spiritual traditions of India.

Among other Greeks who translated Indian texts, we cannot neglect to mention: K.B. Stephanides, who translated Vyāsa's *Mahābhārata—The Great Indian Epic*,[50] Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa—The First Great Epic of India*,[51] and Aurobindo's translations and commentaries on *Īśa* and *Kena* Upaniṣads.[52] The late Theodoros Panduvas translated from Sanskrit into Greek the *Bhagavadgītā—The Song of Krishna* and added elaborated notes and comments.[53] Panduvas, also, authored an *Interpretative Lexicon of Indian Philosophy and Yoga*.[54] Irini Panagiotidou published a study on the *Purāṇas—Indian Mythology and Tradition*[55] and the Satya Sai Centre translated the *Aṣṭavakra Gītā*.[56] Others translated into Greek some of the best-known works of renowned Western Indologists.

Nikos Demou presented two eclectic and fascinating essays on the mutual philosophical and artistic influences between Greece and Buddhist India in a volume entitled, *The Greek Buddha*.[57] The author followed Nietzsche's provocative example and made a rather unsuccessful attempt to describe Pyrrho of Elis as Greek Buddha.[58] Maria Burgi-Kyriazi, who did extensive research on Galanos, wrote yet another enlightening volume on Ramana Maharshi and the experience of the Self, in French.[59]

Paris Chatzipetros, in collaboration with the California-based, 'Krishnamurti Writings Inc.', translated into Greek ten lectures delivered by J. Krishnamurti in Athens in 1944. He also initiated the translation of his other books into Greek and a monthly journal for the introduction of his teachings to the Greek readers. Ioannis Borres translated from English the famous *Autobiography of a Yogi* by Paramahamsa Yogananda,[60] which was to become a best seller also in Greece. Other Greeks became affiliated with a remarkable number of divergent Indian religio-philosophical sects and published their own literature, journals, and translations. These publications have met with counter-publications by the anti-sectarian branch of the Greek Orthodox Church and became a topic of debate and concern in intellectual circles.

Contemporary Indian literature, however, has found great success and acceptance among Greek readers from the time of Rabindranath Tagore to the present day. The great majority of India's best known novels were translated from other European languages and printed in Greece. This helped to bring awareness of the many and varied aspects of the Indian social and intellectual life to the Greek reader. The 1997 award of the prestigious Onasis International Cultural Competitions Prize for Theatrical Plays to Manjula Padmanabhan's play *Harvest*, is the best example of the respect with which Indian writers are held.

Indological studies in Greece have been carried out mainly by the

Departments of History of Religion in the Theological Schools of Athens and Salonica universities. But, due to a lack of Indological libraries and qualified teachers, studies were necessarily limited. Most Greek scholars had no knowledge of Sanskrit and Indian languages and so their research depended upon second-hand information derived from translations. Nevertheless, a few remarkable advances were made. For example, at the Theological School of the University of Athens, Leonidas Philippides published *The Grief and Liberation in the Theory of Vedānta*,[61] *The Principle of Love in Buddhism and Christianity*,[62] and *The Highest Moral Ideal of Buddha*;[63] Demetres Stathopoulos made Buddhism (Zen) his special field of study and published five books on the subject;[64] and Alexandros Kariotoglou recently published a book entitled, *Islam in India—The Sikh Religion*.[65] The ethnomusicologist Georgios Amaryiannakis, from the Music Department of Athens University, published a parallel study of the Greek and Indian traditional music, entitled *Harmonic Affinities*,[66] plus a short introductory article on Indian music.[67] At the University of Salonica, Gregorios Ziakas incorporated an outline of the Indian religions in his *History of Religions*;[68] and Achilleas A. Siagkres submitted his Ph.D. thesis on *Amida (Amitābha) Buddha, the Longed-for Saviour God*, (Athens, 1953). Michales Setatos taught, until 1996, an introductory course in Sanskrit at the Department of Linguistics at the University of Salonica.

The first, in modern times, Indo-Greek Cultural Symposium was held at Delphi from the fourth to the eighth of June 1984. During the symposium the participants had the opportunity to come in contact with Indian folk dance, fashion, cinema, music, and ideas.[69] This was followed by the visit of the theatrical club of Volos to India in November 1986 under the leadership of scenographer Spyros Vrachotes. The Greek theatrical team presented Sophocles' classical tragedy *Antigone* along with Kālidāsa's *Śākuntala* (translated from Sanskrit into Greek by Constantinos Theotokes) at Ujjain, Varanasi and New Delhi. The successful presentation resulted in the strengthening of theatrical co-operation between Indian and Greek artists. In summer 1989, a theatrical team from Kerala visited Greece and presented an Indian epic play at Delphi. In March 1990, the Greek theatrical club arrived at Trivandrum and Greek and Indian artists played together Homer's *Iliad* and Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*. In summer 1990, the two teams met once again at Chorton of Pelion. Finally in 1991, the Panteion University of Political and Cultural Sciences at Athens invited the two teams to its premises. The two teams presented their work both at the university's theatre and at the newly constructed musical centre in Athens. On the occasion the Panteion University published a small bulletin entitled, *Place at Common* (*Τόπος Επί-Κοινός*).[70]

Sporadically, Greek scholars continue to visit India for short-term

projects. The focus of their interest is mainly concentrated in witnessing theatre, dance, religious rituals, musical performances and other traditional forms of art. The anthropologist Pavlos Kavouras of Athens University visited Mumbai and Thiruvananthapuram in January 1997 and had interaction with organisations and institutions working in the fields of social and cultural anthropology and museology. Also, he observed and documented the ecstatic religious rituals and musico-kinetic ceremonies in honour of the Mother Goddess near Trichur (Kerala).[71] With his return to Greece he presented his impressive records in a series of lectures at Athens University and other educational institutions. Kavouras is now focused in the preparation of a historico-anthropological research project concerning the apprehension and commendation of the Greek society in its meeting and interaction with the Indians and their culture after the Second World War.

On March 2, 1998, Alexander Adamopoulos, an eminent Greek poet and fiction writer, met and spoke with Indian intellectuals at the Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi. A few months later, Adamopoulos published in India one of his best known works, entitled *Twelve and One lies*.[72] In this book, the author transmits, through a series of allegorical and delightful short stories, the light of his inner realisation on profound metaphysical truths as they are confronted in everyday life.

Yvonne Alexandridou, a distinguished visual artist who studied design and cosmetics at the University Community Adult School in California and at Ecole Nationale Superieure des Beaux Arts in Paris, made a unique contribution in the world of fashion by fusing the Greek and the Indian sense of beauty, aesthetics, and creativity in the collections of the Sardar Silk House in New Delhi, where she has worked as a designer since 1981. Also she played a significant role in organising successful Greek and Indian cultural programmes in Delhi and Varanasi. In 1999, the Indian Embassy in Athens officially recognised her dynamic contribution to the strengthening of the Indo-Greek friendly relations by appointing her as Honourable Consular of India in Salonica.

In the field of performing arts, the well known artist Lida Sandala studied Indian dance with A.K. Laxman and V.P. Dananjayan in Madras and with her return to Greece in 1985 established the first centre for the study of Bharat Natyam in Athens. She choreographed new dance performances, taking inspiration from both ancient Greek and Indian myths, such as Theseus, Gita Govinda, Sakundala, Compra, Avatars, and others. In addition to teaching and performing, the Bharat Natyam centre has begun a research project to study classical Greek and Indian dance, ancient Greek music (tropous), and Indian ragas.

The young Greek director, Vassilios Calitsis, took a similar direction;

and in 1994 he staged, at the avant-garde La Mama Theatre in New York City, an Indo-Greek production of Euripide's *Hippolytos*. The play, in Kannada and Greek languages, was performed by Indian actors from the Nataka Karnataka Rangayana, a state theatre ensemble of South India.

Another musician, Alexis Karsiotes, has, for almost a decade, studied in Benares under the guidance of Rabindra Goswami. With his return to Greece he founded "Saraswati," a cultural foundation for the promotion of Indian arts, and organised Indian classical music concerts in both Greece and India. In 1998 he produced the first Compact Disc of a series entitled, "Master Musicians of Benares." This C.D. is a tribute to a group of five master musicians from the ancient cultural centre, Benares, who came to Greece in 1995, giving a series of twelve concerts in ten different cities from Kalamata to Komotini. The artists involved were: Rabindra Goswami (sitar), Rama Shankar (shehnai), Kishor Kumar Mishra (tabla), Shri Kant Mishra (pakhawaj), and Subha Goswami (tanpura). Other Greeks who spent considerable time in the study of Indian classical music in India are: Giorgos Euangelou of Ioanina (pakhawaj), who in collaboration with the Society of Studies of Epiros (E.H.M.) organised on the 16th June, 1999 an unforgettable evening of Indian Classical Music in the capital of Epiros, Ioannina; Takes Barbas of Ioanina (tabla and shehnai); Leuteres Metropoulos and Alexandros Kritikos of Athens (tabla); John Protopapas of Cyprus (sitar and pakhawaj); Nektarios Mitritsakis of Chania (sitar); Aphrodite Papanikandrou of Salonica and Athanasios Koutsogiannes of Kranea Elassonas (vocal); and Maria Petrochilou of Peraeus, Emilia Bouriti of Aspropirgos, and Sophia Panourgou of Athens (dance).

The musicologist, Yannis Manolidakes, started an ethnomusicological research project a few years ago in North India, North Pakistan and North Afghanistan with an aim of locating any living trace of the ancient Greek presence in these parts of Asia. As a result of his scholarly and exhaustive work based mainly upon the study of music, a Compact Disc was produced by 'EUMOUSIA' in Athens. The record's title is "Leo, Laleo, Lalo, Laleia, Lalea" words which are often used before and after songs, and even in titles of songs—in Malana, in the Kalash and Nuristan—which come from the Greek word "Λαλώ" ("I speak, I sing"). Manolidakes further supported his thesis with examples taken from the study of elements similar to Greek, found in the dance, musical instruments, carving, religion and the language of the peoples living in Malana, Lahoul and Spiti, Nuristan and Kalash. Regarding the preservation of Greek elements in the religion of the Kalash, The researcher suggested that the Kalash's deities—Di-Zau (the father of the gods), Baloumain (the god of light), and Jestak (the goddess of home and family)—resemble the deities of the Greek pantheon—Dias-Zeus, Apollo, and Estia, respectively.[73] In a related work, in the years 1995 and

1996 a group of Greek teachers visited Kalash and constructed a small school in the village Krakal as a "small contribution to those who have preserved the memories of their ancestors."[74]

The preservation of Greek communities (Kafir-Kalash, the descendants of Alexander) in Afghanistan, Pakistan, and India attracted the interest of many contemporary Greeks, especially after the dramatic events in former Yugoslavia and the re-emergence of the Macedonian controversy. A few authors who published relevant articles in Greek journals and newspapers are: G. Alexandrou (*The Descendants of Alexander the Great Live Somewhere Between Afghanistan and Pakistan; Kalash, the Descendants of the Macedonians in the Depths of Asia*); G. Valenakes (*Bactria and the Greek Kingdom of India*); Ep. Vranopoulos (*The Greek Kings of Bactria and India; A Greek City in the Depths of Asia; The Children of Alexander the Great; the Mystery of Kafir Kalash*); G. Eliades (*Hellenism and East*); Or. Aelianos (*The Children of Alexander the Great*); Ir. Kamperidou (*Ai-Khanum, Greece at the End of the World*); Ath. Lerounes (*The Descendants of the Greeks*); G. Modes (*The Macedonian Kingdoms in Afghanistan*); Ath. Moustakas (*Kafir-Kalash, the Lost Ancient Greeks of the Hindukush*); Ir. Panagiotidou (*Menander the Greek; Yavanah, the Greeks in Indian Tradition*); Vas. Papadakes (*Indian Hellenism*); Yannis Papaioannou (*Greek Cultural Presence around the Himalayas*); Foivos Piompinos (*Kalash, the Macedonians of North Pakistan*); Fr. Sommaripas (*They Believe that they are Descendants of the Greeks*); El. Traiou (*Beyond Ganges, the Greek Presence in Central Asia*); Vas. Tritakes (*Kalash, the Descendants of Alexander the Great in Indian Caucasos; Descendants of Alexander the Great or Comedy of History*); El. Tsatsomoiros (*Dias Pater; in Indian Mythology*); D. Tsimpoukides (*From the History of the Graeco-Bactrian State*) and Stelios Matsagos (*Kalash—The Descendants of Alexander the Great*). In the great majority of the above documentations the history of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdoms and an unbridled nationalism are interwoven together. Lastly, Marios Verettas authored an extensive historical review in one volume under the title, *The India of the Greeks.*[75] This otherwise well documented-book often lacks in academic dispassion, yielding a standard example of contemporary Greeks' tendency towards romantic ethnocentrism.

GREEK SCHOLARS IN INDIA

A small number of Greeks have stayed for short or longer periods in Buddhist and Hindu monasteries and hermitages and some study in Indian centres of cultural learning. Greeks who studied or did research for a long time in India are briefly introduced below.

Dr. Eliky Lascarides Zannas, an archaeologist from the University of Sorbonne, served as a cultural attaché to the Greek Embassy in India for twelve years. Her position enabled her to combine her work with mature scholarship on Indological issues. Zannas did extensive research on the impressive architecture and sculpture of the medieval temples of Khajurāho[76] and published a photographic documentation which included an historical introduction by Jeannine Auboyer; an elaborated and detailed description of the principal temples, and a detailed historical map. This judiciously balanced, handsome and engaging book, is ideal both for arm-chair travelling and for study. Also, Zannas is the author of several historical accounts and archaeological articles published in Greek and Indian journals and newspapers.[77]

Another archaeologist, Victor Sarianidis (Sarigiannides), a son of an immigrant Greek in Russia, conducted archaeological excavations in the royal cemetery 'Tilia Tepe' located some 450–500 metres from the city Yemsi-Tepe (first century BC–first century AD) in present day North Afghanistan near the Russian border. He was sent there from Moscow's Institute of Archaeology as a part of the joint Soviet-Afghan expedition and began excavations in 1969. He discovered many tombs and thousands of marvellous golden articles of the earlier local kings which reveal evidence of the influence of Graeco-Roman art.

Greek words were found on some coins, the word "ΣΤΑΜΑ" on a jug, and the inscription, "ΕΥΧΗΝ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ ΑΤΡΟCΩΚΗC ΟΞΩ/" [Atrosokes offered a prayer (lit. wish) to Oxo] on a dedicatory stone. (The name ΑΤΡΟCΩΚΗC is probably Scythian or Parthian but not Greek.) On a semi-precious seal stone of a ring there is the image of the goddess Athena carrying a shield and a spear. The name of the goddess (ΑΘΗΝΑ) is written in Greek in reverse, to produce a positive image.

The religion of those people was evidently Greek as several deities of the Greek pantheon were found depicted on art pieces. Among them are, the curly-haired and nude image of Cupid riding on dolphin; the statue of the goddess of love, Aphrodite with wings and the spangle (ṭikulī bindiyāṁ, a dot commonly affixed on the forehead by Indian women); and Lord Dionysos embracing Ariadne, both riding on a steed. However, as Sarianides has pointed out, the imperfect rendering attests to the local influences. This is especially evident on the statue of Aphrodite, who never appears with wings in Greek art, the depiction of the dolphins with scales, and the steed of Dionysos; in Greece he usually is depicted riding on a panther.

Numerous coins were also discovered in the tombs. Among them there are silver coins of the Parthian kings, Mithridates II (123–88 BC) and Phraates IV (32–2 BC), a Roman gold aureus of the Emperor Tiberius (AD 16–21), and a gold Indian coin embossed in the Kharoṣṭhī script and bearing the

image of a man pushing the wheel of dharma.

Sarianidis published his scientific exploration and discoveries in international journals and in an illustrated volume in Greek, entitled *The Royal Tombs in Bactria.*[78] These valuable and well received records include dozens of never-before-seen photographs of marvellous pieces of art. They offer the fullest view yet available of the Bactrian Greeks and reconstruct our understanding of the history, religion, art, and daily activities that marked the life of this long-vanished culture.

Dr. Helen Abadzi, a multilingual educational psychologist from the University of Texas at Arlington, learned Hindi while studying in the U.S., and developed a strong interest in the cultural interactions between Greeks and Indians. As a World Bank staff member, she has learned other north Indian languages and has worked on educational projects in Nepal and Bangladesh. She has published articles on the Greek community in Bengal[79] and on instructional problems of Ancient Greek and Sanskrit in Indian and Greek high schools.[80] Additionally, in collaboration with Manouel Tasoulas, Helen Abadzi has authored a book called, *The Apocalypse of the Hindi-style Songs.*[81] This is a study of the approximately one hundred and three Hindi movies that were shown in Greece in the 1950s and 1960s and the over one hundred Hindi movie songs that Greek musicians adapted from them. The book discusses the social, artistic, musicological and historical aspects of this phenomenon, which could be called an Indian period in the music of modern Greece. The moving and nostalgic account of this crucial episode in contemporary popular Greek music is as creative and refreshing as a marvellous Hollywood film. This superb publication has all potentiality to serve as a model for future comparative studies of cross-cultural education, a spectrum that has become a neglected sector of academia in Greece and in India as well.

The first Greek scholar to conduct a Ph.D. level research in an Indian university was Miltiades Spyrou of Komotini. He submitted his Ph.D. thesis, *Eudaemonistic Trends in Indian Philosophy,*[82] under the supervision of Prof. N.K. Devaraja and was awarded the degree of Doctor of Philosophy from Banaras Hindu University in 1971. He was followed by Theodore George Bitos, who submitted his Ph.D. thesis, *The Philosophy of Advaita as Expounded in the Svārājya-Siddhī of Gangādharendra Sarasvatī*, under the supervision of Dr. N. Veezhinathan, and was awarded the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in 1976 from the University of Madras.[83] In July 1998, Demetrios Vassiliades submitted the third Ph.D. thesis, *A Critical and Comparative Study of the Presocratic Greek and Ancient Indian Philosophy*, under the supervision of Prof. K.N. Mishra and Dr. (Mrs.) Munni Kumari Agrawal, at Banaras Hindu University.[84]

Maria Athanassopoulou, a graduate from the School of Philosophy in

Athens University, was awarded Master of Arts in Indian Philosophy and Religion in 1993 from Banaras Hindu University. With the completion of her M.A., Athanassopoulou enrolled herself as a Ph.D. research scholar at the same university. The topic of her thesis is *A Critical Study of J. Krishnamurti's Teachings and His Works.* This subject requires much-needed research regarding the extraordinary results of the teachings of one of the most significant Indian philosophers of the twentieth century.

The theologian Apostolos Michailides, was awarded Master of Arts in Indian Philosophy and Religion in 1993 from Banaras Hindu University. In addition, he published an illustrated research paper on the life and rituals of the peculiar Hindu cult "Aghorapanthīs"[85] and a description on the city of Benares, its life and culture, present and past,[86] in Greek journals. Michailides, also collected sufficient bibliographical material to complete his research in the Aristotelian University of Salonica on *Liberation, the Process for its Achievement in Classical Yoga: an Orthodox Theological Approach.*

Lastly, Constantinos Tsioulos, a post-graduate in Aerospace Engineering from the University of Illinois, also studied at B.H.U. and was awarded a Master of Arts degree in Indian Philosophy and Religion in 1997. Subsequently, he went to study the language of the people of Bengal at Visva-Bharati University in Santiniketan, while continuing his prior studies of Sanskrit as well.

The Greek scholars who have completed their research in India have returned to Greece. Nikolaos Mariores, Lida Sandala and Alexis Karsiotes opened their own private cultural centres. Eliki Laskarides Zannas established an Indological library and a photographic archive at her residence in Athens. Miltiades Spyrou became a civil servant in the Greek National Tourist Organisation (EOT) and Theodore Bitos, a successful businessman. Apostolos Michailides, who had a Greek degree in theology, was the only one to become teacher in a school of secondary education. None of them has as yet found any formal channel by which to introduce Indological studies to the Greek academic world.

THE DESCENDANTS OF MEGASTHENES

Most publications made were by the representatives of the Greek diplomatic body. Demetrios Velissaropoulos, (ambassador to India from 1959 to 1963), opened to the Greek readers a whole new world of philosophical ideas as he was the first to write the *History of Indian Philosophy*[87] in Greek. This pioneering work, based on western sources and written in a simple but not simplistic style, remains a unique and important contribution to the study of the orthodox and non-orthodox Indian schools of thought.

Velissaropoulos, however, became best known for his highly readable historical account of Indo-Greek exchanges, entitled *Greeks and Indians: The Meeting ofTwo Worlds* (in Greek).[38] This book undertakes an honest and in-depth examination of the long-debated question of the so-called "Indian hypothesis," that is, whether or not some Greek philosophers such as Pythagoras, Empedocles, Plato, Plotinos and the Neoplatonists, had actually 'borrowed' the ideas of reincarnation, asceticism, liberation, etc. from India. Velissaropoulos' approach is that of a historian and he reviews many ancient Greek texts (from the time of Scylax up to the Christian Era) to discover what was actually said about Indians by the Greek writers. He also includes some references to the Yavanas found in Indian texts and inscriptions. Velissaropoulos places special importance upon the *Milindapañha,* though he rejects all attempts to compare the Indian text with the Platonic dialogues. He asserts that the Buddhist scripture best exemplifies the difference between Greek and Indian philosophies. The personality of man is placed at the centre of the Greek philosophy while for Indian philosophy, especially for Buddhism, the human existence is a composite and transitory phenomenon.

The author's thorough analysis leads to the conclusion that the Greeks who came to India were only impressed by the external manners of Indian sages. A few basic ideas, such as the belief in reincarnation, liberation of the self from the bonds of the body, and some cosmological and social problems were also noticed, but none of them considered the real depth of Indian philosophy, as is found in the sacred books. Velissaropoulos' impressively documented work is a resounding refutation to the hypothesis of Tarn, that Greeks who were normally so eager for knowledge must have been fascinated by the Brāhmaṇic and Buddhist philosophies. He states, "A historian may be entitled to formulate hypotheses but he cannot pronounce as certain that which has no solid proof." From the writings of Velissaropoulos we are left with the impression that the ancient Greek and Indian philosophies developed at the same time but independently. The author's essay helps the reader gain a deeper insight into how the Greek and Indian philosophies evolved to the present-day and how we can improve philosophical understanding between the two nations in the future.

Another Greek ambassador, George Siores (1984-89), a graduate of Law from the University of Athens and a former journalist, introduced an almost unknown subject to the Indian people by publishing in New Delhi a work of astonishing breadth and imagination, entitled, *Mythology of Greece and Japan: Archetypal Similarities.*[39] In the introduction of this book, Siores explains the significance of the comparison between the two systems of myths which are unrelated to each other in geographical and cultural context. Also, he warns us of the inherent dangers of too readily drawing par-

allelisms based on a limited number of similarities. The small but reflective book is huge in concept and scope as it deals with mythology in its broad sense. It includes religion; myths of creation (i.e., the cosmic egg, incest, earth and heaven, ying and yang, creation from blood, creation from fragments, etc.); myths of love and the nether world; the cycle of the seasons; metamorphosis; natural elements; rituals; ethics; practices and festivities. Examining certain selected Japanese and Greek myths, Siores points out that there is not sufficient ground to advance a hypothesis of direct influence and therefore, we must accept the similarities, found in the midst of thick layers of differences, as 'archetypal similarities.' Agriculture is an important common denominator in the mythologies of both countries, the main difference being that while Hellenic mythology is 'telescopic,' Japanese is 'microscopic.'

By comparing a unique set of data about myths in distant and disconnected places, the author advances the reader's understanding of myth as an avenue for the communication of the creative power, and provides a new forum for the interpretation of the myths. He concludes with Michael Grant's words, "Myths are dialects of a single language."

Vassilis Vitsaxis studied law, politics, and economic science at Athens University. In 1945 he was awarded a Doctorate in Law and the following year joined the diplomatic body. He served as an ambassador to India in the 1970s. Vitsaxis published several books on science and literature as well as papers and translations for journals and newspapers in French, English and Greek. Three of his books are related to Indian religion and philosophy: *Hindu Epics—Myths and Legends in Popular Illustrations*;[90] *Plato and the Upanishads*;[91] and *Reason and Faith*.[92] In addition to these, the learned ambassador has translated into Greek a haunting collection of contemporary Indian poetry.[93] This anthology from the major works of eighty-two outstanding Indian poets in fourteen languages deftly explores their devotional and aesthetic connection to nature, society, and God.

In the first of his books, Vitsaxis collects popular religious prints sold in market-places of India. He presents with them short, clear accounts of these major Indian deities and the symbolism employed in their popularly illustrated images. In his introduction he discusses the origin of Hinduism, and refers to the meeting of the Āryan and Dravidian people. He then describes some salient features of Hinduism, such as the absence of a founder; the monistic teachings of the Upaniṣads and the belief of the identity between the individual soul and the Absolute; the cyclic repetition of time and the four Yugas and the correspondence of Satya Yuga (the age of truth) with the 'epi Kronou uios' or 'Saturnia regna' of ancient Greek mythology. Also, he discusses the ultimate aim of life, the union with God or the Absolute and the paths for its attainment; the divine order of universal moral law

(dharma); the balance of good and evil powers in the cosmos and God's graceful incarnation (avatāra) in the world whenever there is necessity. In this unique book we meet traditional Indian deities such as, the supreme triad (Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva); the ten Avatāras of Viṣṇu; Śiva and Śakti in their various forms; Gaṇeśa, Hanumān, and sacred animals and symbols.

The second book of Vitsaxis is a comparative study between the philosophies of Plato and the Upaniṣads, which the author evaluates to be the best representatives of ancient Greek and Indian thought.[94] The third book, entitled *Reason and Faith* (in Greek) is a massive, ambitious and reflective collection of five essays on ancient Greek and Indian thought, and Christianity. The author exhibits an admirable ability to address in a lucid, articulate and dispassionate style a full range of absorbing conceptions from the disciplines that have inspired human imagination for millennia. Vitsaxis' ability to present a compelling, informed analysis and to draw the reader with his own vision and aspirations makes this collection a thorough mastery of the literature in both history and applied philosophy. The book is challenging as enlightening to the reader.

Vasilis Vitsaxis' prolific output has not been limited to scholarship and lecturing alone. Making use of a lifetime of governmental and academic experience and drawing upon his rich personal life experience as well, he founded in Athens the Indo-Greek Friendship Society which organises an annual cultural function in collaboration with the Indian Embassy. Unfortunately, the lack of professional Orientalists has proved to be a limiting factor for the growth and enrichment of this important society.

GREEK CULTURE IN INDIA

A wonderfully stimulating elementary school for the teaching of the Greek language was started for the first time in the history of New Delhi in 1994. This became possible due to the active interest of the Ambassador of Cyprus to India, Stavros Epaminondas and the assistance of Luiza Zorba, attaché, who had also taught Greek in two schools in London previously. The school is situated on the premises of the Cyprus Embassy and has attracted philhellene students from different backgrounds and ages.

Greek cultural programmes are also organised by the small cultural centre 'Cyclos,' which started its activities in Calcutta ten years ago,[95] and by the 'Indian Society for Greek and Roman Studies' (ISGARS), which is under the aegis of the Department of Ancient History and Culture, Rohilkand University, Bareilly, in the state of Uttar Pradesh. Both societies are publishing their own journals, the *Pelasgia* and the *Yavanika* respectively. A third society, entitled 'Indo-Hellenic Friendship League' was registered in

New Delhi on 4th May, 1999 with the support of the Greek Embassy. The twenty-six founding members are distinguished personalities of Indian society as well as a few Greeks residing in New Delhi, Jaipur, Mumbai, and Varanasi. The stated objective of the 'League' is the promotion of understanding, co-operation and amity in the social and cultural spheres between the peoples of India and Greece.

At the present time, the Greek Embassy in India collaborates with the Greek and Indian ministries and organises an annual cultural function in New Delhi. Among the most recent were the photographic exhibitions, "Glimpses of Traditional Greece" by Helen Giannopoulou-Georgoulaki (India International Centre, New Delhi, December, 1995) and "The Greek Spirit: 9,000 years of Civilisation" (National Museum, New Delhi, October, 1996) by the Greek Ministry of Culture. The latter was followed by two lectures and slide presentations; the first, "Glimpses of Greece: Past and Present" by Simonne Zafiropoulou and the second, "Athens: The City of Democracy, Classical Education, Culture and Art" by Elsie Spathari.

An exhibition of Greek contemporary art from the collection of the Municipal Gallery of Athens was inaugurated on the tenth of April 1998 at the National Gallery of Modern Art in New Delhi and remained on view till the tenth of May. Another exhibition of portraits in the neo-Orientalist tradition by Daphne Zepos was inaugurated on the seventh of December 1998 at the Art Today Gallery in New Delhi, in synchronisation with the official visit of H.E. the Minister for National Defence of Greece, Mr. Apostolos Tsohatzopoulos.

On the 5 April 1996, a musical encounter was organised by the Greek Embassy at the India International Centre.[96] Another magnificent musical event took place when the renowned composer, Yannis Chryssomalis of Kalamata, popularly known as "Yanni," played eighteen of his compositions in the Taj Mahal in Agra on March 19, 1997. Thousands of people gathered on the bank of the Yamuna river to watch the majestic performance which was also broadcasted by the national television channel (DD 1) and reported on the front pages of Indian newspapers.[97] More recently, on the 5 October 1998, Delhi experienced another joyful evening of Greek music performed by Lakis Halkias and his ensemble.

On the sixteenth of August 1997, in conjunction with India's celebration of her fiftieth anniversary of India's independence, a month-long exhibition, "Macedonians: The Northern Greeks" was inaugurated by H.E. President of India Shri K.R. Narayanan at the National Museum, New Delhi. The exhibition was organised by the National Museum and the Department of Culture in co-operation with the Government of Greece. In his inaugural remarks, the President of India emphasised the profound rela-

tions between India and Greece in the fields of philosophy, culture, language, democratic institutions, and especially art. Mr. Narayanan particularly stressed the links between Sanskrit and Greek which were sister languages and embodied similar idioms of thought and cultural concepts. In the realm of philosophy and the approach to life, the President said both civilisations displayed a remarkable similarity in their adoration of beauty, truth, sense of proportion and balance of life, and the gratitude for life.[98]

In the magnificent exhibition were displayed four hundred and thirty-eight art pieces highlighting the history of the Macedonians from the Late Bronze Age to the end of the Hellenic Period. These works of art included vases, sculptures, inscriptions, figurines, weapons, jewellery, metal works, coins and artefacts of daily life. During the exhibition, illustrated lectures and an exhibition of Gandhāra art from the National Museum collection were also in view. The press and other media of mass communication emphasised the significance and importance of this exhibition, also noting the impact of Alexander's invasion on India's culture.

In addition to the above mentioned cultural programmes, an academic symposium "Greece and India: 2500 Years of Cultural Relations" was jointly organised by the Indian Council for Cultural Relations and the Foundation for Hellenic Studies from the 25 March to the 2 April 1995, in New Delhi.[99] The inauguration of the symposium began with the impressive welcome message of Shri K.R. Narayanan, Vice-President of India at the time, who emphasised the importance of the philosophical heritage of the two countries and expressed the need for further research on Indo-Greek studies:

> India and Greece are the originators of ideas and philosophies which have shaped human civilisation over centuries. Since time immemorial the interaction between these two civilisations has enriched the heritage of the two countries and the world as a whole. The extent and depth of this cultural and philosophical interaction deserves to be pursued through scholarship in our own time and the people made aware of the spiritual kinship between the Indian and Greek civilisations.

The distinguished Greek scholars, who came to India to deliver lectures on this occasion, were: Spyros Marketos, the president of the International Hippocratic Foundation of Kos, who lectured about the prophetic messages of Hellenic (Hippocratic) medicine at the turn of the twentieth century;[100] Yannis Andreades, who presented a transcultural interpretation of the foreign invasion of Dionysos; the musicologist, Lambros Liavvas, who gave an introduction to Greek traditional music and its relationship to Indian music; Demetrios Velissaropoulos, who spoke about Greece and India and the meeting of the two worlds; Yannis Manolidakes, who presented his ethnomusicological research, "Greek Echoes in North-Western India

and the Hindukush;" and a group of Greek artists and musicians.[101] The Greek actress Reni Pittaki recited modern Greek poetry and a monologue from ancient Greek drama while the Living Theatre Company of New Delhi performed a Hindustani version of three ancient Greek dramas (i.e., *Iphigenia in Aulis* by Euripides, *Agamemnon* by Aeschylos, and *Electra* by Sophocles). The programme also included an exhibition of paintings, engravings and sculptures,[102] a photographic exhibition of performances from ancient Greek drama, and the screening of three films.[103]

The symposium was a well-organised event clearly perpetuating the various aspects of cultural interactions between the two countries. It should be seen as a positive initial step which needs to be developed, expanded and built upon. An affirmative interest to initiate joint projects in various fields of learning, and to introduce the teaching of classical and modern languages in the universities of the two countries was also expressed. The conclusion was that India and Greece have much to offer each other, but they must initiate and encourage practical steps towards this end.

The remarkable success of the Greek cultural events in India, followed by the inspiring statements of H.E. the President of the Indian Republic, Mr. K.R. Narayanan, and the state visit of H.E. the President of the Hellenic Republic, Mr. Constantinos Stephanopoulos to India in January 1998, have defined the perennial desire of the Greek and Indian people to build and preserve a mutual understanding that will define the vital issues of a fresh cultural interaction for the twenty-first century.

To this effect, a chair for the systematic teaching of Greek Classical Studies has been planned to be inaugurated at the School of Language, Literature and Culture of the Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi[104] in the 1999-2000 academic session. This will allow Indian students to form a deeper, more cogent understanding of the philosophy, history, art, and other aspects of the Hellenic civilisation.

In addition, further plans were discussed for the development of an inter-cultural centre at the premises of the new building of the Greek Embassy. The centre, with its own modern library housing Greek and Indo-Greek studies, journals and publications, would provide valuable guideposts to scholars, teachers, and journalists to develop a new genre of cultural reporting. It would be a great asset in facilitating discussions of cultural phenomena, translation and review of books, essays assessing contemporary literary movements, combining journalism, ethnography, and criticism that effect and influence literary trends world-wide. A challenging vision links the glorious traditions of East and West to respond to the rising quest for an integrated humanistic civilisation as we approach the third millennium.

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2. For further details concerning the history of the Greek community in Bengal, see Norris, op. cit.; James Taylor, *A Sketch of the Topography and Statistics of Dacca*, (Calcutta, 1840), pp. 87–88, 99, 254–55; SyedMolid Taifoov, *Glimpses to Old Dhaka*, (Dhaka, 1958), pp. 20-21; Burgi-Kyriazi, op. cit., pp. 18–21; Kargakos, op. cit., pp. 19–25. The writings of Elias Tantalides, (*Ἰνδικὴ Ἀλληλογραφία*), who lived in Phanari, the Greek enclave in Constantinople, also contain valuable information.
3. Governor Warren Hastings had supported several issues of the Greek merchant community in Bengal and donated two thousand rupees for the construction of the Greek church in Calcutta. Subsequently, in 1788, when Hastings was impeached on charges of corruption, two Greek priests and seventy Greek merchants (including Galanos) signed the following supporting petition addressed to the Honourable Court of Directors of the East India Company: "We take the liberty of testifying and declaring by this humble representation his Christian and universal character, his beneficent and charitable disposition to all mankind, his just and impartial love of all the native inhabitants, whether high or low, of this kingdom and his fervent zeal for the prosperity of this country in general and of every individual in it, manifesting to all and every one of them marks of paternal affection and stretching forth his hand to those whom he found in indigent circumstances and destitute of the necessities of life. He was a zealous patron for the dispensation of justice to every individual and of faithful balance of equity. In a word, he was enriched with all human and moral endowments and famous not only for his moral and political virtues but worthy of praise and to be highly spoken of for his desire to preserve and improve the literature of this country, all of which excellencies will render him admired and immortal throughout the universal world." Norris, op. cit., pp. 31–32, 189–90.
4. Eardley Latimer, *Handbook to Calcutta and Environs*, [Oxford Book Company, New Delhi, 1966 (1963)], pp. 88–89.
5. "Σωτήριον τοῦ Θεοῦ ἔτος 1802. Ἔαρ καὶ πάσχα τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν. Συναχθέντες ἐν τῷ ναῷ τό έσπέρας, μετά τὴν δευτέραν τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἀκολουθίαν ὠμώσαμεν ὅρκον τὸν ἱερόν ἅπαντες οἱ ἐν Κολκότᾳ Γραικοὶ πραγματευταί, ἐκ Πόντου καὶ Βιθυνίας καὶ Καππαδοκίας καὶ Αἰολίας καὶ Ἰωνίας χώρας καὶ Γραικίας καὶ νήσων καὶ Βαρβαρίας καὶ Αἰγύπτου καὶ Βασιλευούσης Πόλεως καὶ οἰκουμένης πάσης. Τά μὴ πρὸς ἐπιτηδείαν ἀνάγκην γρόσια καὶ ἄσπρα καὶ χρυσίον καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ λοιπὴν οὐσίαν καταλιμπάνεσθαι πρὸς φύλαξιν ἐν Κολκότα διά τὴν ἀνάστασιν τοῦ γένους τῶν Ρωμαίων. Καὶ μηδεὶς πώποτε χεῖραν ἐπιλαβέσθω ἐκ' αὐτῶν. Ἐπιδοθήτωσαν δὲ τῷ τῶν Ρωμαίων Βασιλείῳ, ὅτε θεία συνάρσει τοῦτο χρῆ ἀναστῆναι." From the historical archives of the Greeks in India, Greek Orthodox church, Calcutta.
6. Taylor mentioned 1821, but according to Paul Byron Norris, he is in error in this fact. The chief founder of the church was Alexander Paniotys who died in 1821.
7. Π. Κωνσταντίνος Χαλβατζάκης-Βελλάδιος, *Πόντιοι στίς Ἰνδίες*, (Ἔκδοση Σωματείου Παναγία Σουμελά, Θεσσαλονίκη, 1989), p. 17.
8. See Helen Abadzi, "The Dhaka University Greek Gravestones and the Greek Community," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bangladesh*, (June 1995), XL, 1, pp. 101–16. In this article, Abadzi tried to outline a history of the Greek community on the basis of information derived from nine gravestone inscriptions of the ninetieth century Greek community in Bengal now preserved in a small ancient Greek temple-like building on the campus of Dhaka University.
9. Cf. "Blessed are those you choose and bring near to live in your courts!" *Psalms*, 65: 4, NIV translation.

10. Π. Κωνσταντίνος Χαλβατζάκης-Βελλάδιος, "Το Ελληνικό Μνημείο της Ντάκα," *Εστία*, τεύχος 1167, 1976, σελς. 242–45.
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83. Thesis no. R 66x K 90: 9 L6, Main Library; Ph.D., 6, Philosophy Department Library, University of Madras, 389 pp. See *infra*, appendix 4.
84. See *infra*, appendix 4. Vassiliades also authored *The Song of the Gymnosophist* which includes an introduction to the philosophy of the Hindu naked ascetics and a translation of the *Avadhūta Gītā* and *Jīvanamukta Gītā* of Dattātreya. He also contributed articles in Greek and Indian journals. During the years 1994 and 1995, he published in Varanasi *The Academy of Benares-Newsletter*, a multicultural forum for international exchange of views.
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90. Published with a Foreword by A.L. Basham, Oxford Univ. Press, New Delhi, 1977, fourth impression 1981. Greek edition: *Ινδουισμός (Θεότητες-Μύθοι-Σύμβολα)*, Πύρινος Κόσμος, Αθήνα, 1978. Translated into Hindi (1979).
91. Published with a Foreword by T.M.P. Mahadevan, Arnold Heinemann, New Delhi, 1977. Greek edition: *Πλάτων και Ουπανισάντ—Δύο Παράλληλοι Στοχασμοί*, Βιβλιοπωλείον της Εστίας, Αθήνα, 1977.
92. *Ο Στοχασμός και η Πίστη*, Βιβλιοπωλείο της Εστίας, Αθήνα, 1991.
93. *Σύγχρονη Ινδική Ποίηση*, Βιβλιοπωλείο της Εστίας, Αθήνα, 1978.
94. See *infra*, "Philosophical Review," appendix 4.
95. See Ορέστης Ηλιανός, "Ελληνική Λέσχη Κύκλος," *Καθημερινή*, Αθήνα, 29 Δεκ. 1996
96. The participating artists, who played also during the Greek Food Festival at the Maurya Sheraton Hotel, New Delhi, were: Ilias Papadopoulos (lyra), Manolis Pappos (lauto), Victoria Theodorides (vocal), and Uma Sharma (kathak dance).
97. *The Times of India*, New Delhi, March 21, 1997.
98. "President Inaugurates Greek Exhibition," *The Hindu*, New Delhi, August 17, 1997, p. 10.
99. See D. Th. Vassiliades, "Symposium India—Greece: 2500 years of Cultural Exchanges," *The Academy of Benares—Newsletter*, Varanasi, 1995, vol. II, no. 2 (April-June), pp. 2-3; Πόπη Ρηγοπούλου, "Ινδία—Αποστολή," *Ελευθεροτυπία*, 17 Απριλίου 1995, σελς 16–17.
100. The proceedings of the symposium were not published. Marketos published later a short article entitled, "Ιωνική Ιατρική (Γιουνάνι Τιμπ)," ("Yunani Tibb,") *Καθημερινή*, Αθήνα, 29 Δεκ. 1996. In this article he claimed that the development of Yunani

medicine was due to the continuous Greek influence during the Hellenistic and Byzantine periods. He also pointed out that both the followers of Ayurveda and Hippocratic tradition had ascribed the origin of the art of healing to God—the Greeks to Apollo and the Indians to Brahmā.

101. The musicians involved were: Maros Dimitrianakis (boulgari-bouzouki), Manolis Skoulas (song-Cretan lyre), Giorgos Deliyannis (aerophones-santoor), Christos Paraskevas (lute), Costas Velkos (drums), Aphroditi Kyrgiou (song).

102. The exhibition included art works of Alexis Acritakis, Yannis Gaitis, Nikos Hatzikyriakos-Ghika, Vasso Katraki, Yannis Spyropoulos, Tassos Alevizos, Yannis Tsarouchis, Christos Bokoros, Achilleas Droungas, Alecos Fassianos, Christos Karas, Tina Karageorgi, Yannis Moralis, Dimitris Mytaras, Vassilis Sperantzas, Panayotis Tetsis, Costas Tsoclis, and Yannis Psychopedis.

103. The films screened were: "Iphigenia" by Michales Cacoyannis, "Rom" by Menelaos Karamaghiolis, and "Rebetico" by Costas Ferris. Other Greek films participated in recent International and Greek film festivals in India are: "From Snow" by Soteres Geritsas (International Film Festival of Mumbai, January 1995); "Lord Byron" by Nikos Koundouros (26th International Film Festival of India, New Delhi, February 1995); "Dawn" by Alexis Mpitsikas, "Terra Incognita" by Giannes Typaldos, "The Price of Love" by Tonia Marketake, "A Quiet Day" by Frinda Liapa, "The Flea" by Demetres Spyrou, "The Origins of Tragedy" by Stauros Ioannou, "Mrs Mika" by Katerina Euangelatou, and "The American" by Giannes Loules, (International Film Festival of Calcutta, November-December 1995); "The Gaze of Odysseus" by Theodoros Angelopoulos (27th International Film Festival of India, New Delhi, October 1996); "Homecoming Song" by Giannes Smaragdes (sixth European Union Film Festival, New Delhi, September 1996); "The Price of Love" by Tonia Marketake, "Dawn" by Alexis Mpitsikas, "Rebetico" by Costas Ferris, "Acropolis" by Panteles Voulgares, "1922" by Nikos Koundouros, "Stella" by Michales Cacoyannis, and "Iphigenia" by Tonia Marketake, (Greek Film Festival, on the occasion of the Greek cultural programme, "Greece Travels," New Delhi, November 1996); "Orpheus in August" by Giorgos Zervoulakos, "The Hours" by Antouanetta Aggelide, "With One Scream" by Vassilis Eliopoulos, "The Hoopoe of Wyaoming" by Demetres Indare, "Tera Incognita" by Giannes Typaldos (International Film Festival of Calcutta, December 1996); "Towards Freedom" by Haris Papadopoulos (seventh European Union Film Festival, New Delhi and Bangalore, September-October 1998 and International Film Festival of Trivandrum, September-October 1998). Source: Embassy of Greece, New Delhi.

104. The Memorandum of Understanding was signed by the Greek Ambassador, Yannis-Alexis Zepos, and the Vice-Chancellor, Prof. Asis Datta at a special ceremony held on June 29, 1999 at the Jawaharlal Nehru University. See "Greek Studies at JNU," *The Hindu*, New Delhi, June 28, 1999, p. 3.

Greek Philosophers and India

THALES

Very little is known about the life and work of Thales (*c.* 625–545 BC), whom Aristotle called as 'the founder of philosophy.'[1] Diogenes Laertios[2] stated that according to Herodotos, Douris, and Democritos, Thales was of Phoenician descent; but most people believe that he was a true Milesian. The visit of Thales to Egypt was reported by later writers.[3] Aetios said that Thales practised philosophy in Egypt (φιλοσοφήσας δὲ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ) and came to Miletos when he was older. Proclus mentioned that Thales transferred the knowledge of geometry to Greece. And Plutarch observed that Thales, as well as Homer, took from the Egyptians the idea that all things emerged out of the primeval water. According to Aristotle,[4] Thales derived his supposition that water was the originating principle of all existing things from empirical observations. However, Aristotle was also aware that such speculations were implicitly present in the hymns of Homer, for in another passage[5] he mentions Homer's cosmogonical theories about Oceanos and Tethys[6] as having existed long before Thales' age.

Thales' belief in the primordial waters finds correspondence with the Vedic *Nāsadīya Sūkta* (known as the "Hymn of Creation"), which claims that in the beginning, all this (the world) was indistinguishable water.[7] Barua[8] attributes the authorship of the *Nāsadīya Sūkta* to Prajāpati Parameṣṭhin, "who may be called the Thales of India." He explains that the concept of the world being created from water had arisen partly because of the legend of the flood in the time of the mythical Manu and partly due to the contemplation of the quality of fluidity in worldly experiences such as existence, changeability, circulation, and mighty force of water. There are numerous other references in Vedic and later Indian literature which place water at the beginning of creation. All these cosmogonies are closely related with mythical symbolism and theogony. In India water is never seen as the ultimate principle but it is only a step in the long process of the evolution of creation.[9]

Thales was the first philosopher to propagate animistic ideas in Greece. He believed "the world alive and full of gods."[10] Specifying the nature of soul, Aristotle said that Thales conceived of the soul as something capable

of moving (κινητικόν); for he said the stone (i.e., the magnet) possesses a soul because it moves iron.[11] The animistic beliefs of Thales find counterparts in the first verse of the *Īśa Upaniṣad*: "All this, whatever moves in this universe, is indwelled by God;"[12] and in Jain philosophy, which claims that even atoms are inhabited by the simplest souls ('ekendriya,' i.e., those who have one sense—that of touch).

In addition to Thales, one finds Indian counterparts for almost all the major theories of the pre-Socratic Greek philosophers. Some simplified comparisons are given by Barua, who is eager to discover parallels between the early Greek and Indian philosophers. Bṛhaspati's 'infinite' (Aditi)[13] corresponds to Anaximander's 'indefinite' (ἄπειρον),[14] and Anila,[15] like Anaximenes, conceived air (Sk. vāyu, Gr. ἀήρ) as 'the monarch or the ruling force of the universe.'[16] Barua also presents a new interpretation of the anthropocentric hymn of *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[17] only to point out an analogy between Prajāpati's "man is all the animals" and Protagoras' "man is the prototype of living beings."[18] Though such comparisons are general and superficial, they clearly point out that the growth of philosophy both in Greece and in India followed similar lines. No one is suggesting, however, a historical connection between Greece and India in those early days. The Oriental Origin theory begins with Pythagoras.

PYTHAGORAS

The life of Pythagoras (*c*. 568–493 BC) is shrouded in obscurity. He left no writings[19] and the earliest references to him are controversial. Herodotos[20] and Empedocles[21] describe him as one of the most distinguished sophists of the Hellenic world. But notable others seemed to have held a different view. Heraclitos[22] accused him of being the leader of the cheaters[23] and said, "the learning of many things does not teach wisdom; if so it would have taught Hesiod and Pythagoras, and again Xenophanes and Hecataeos."[24] Ion of Chios acknowledged the wisdom of Pythagoras to Pherecydes of Syros.[25] Aristotle[26] referred to the doctrine of metempsychosis as a 'Pythagorean myth,' and Plato[27] more than once proposed transmigratory theories, but neither of them gave details about his travels.

However, Heraclitos'[28] accusation that Pythagoras collected knowledge from others and appropriated it as his own wisdom was followed by Isocrates[29] (fourth century BC), the Attic orator and rival of Plato, who said, "Pythagoras of Samos, who went to Egypt and became a pupil (of the Egyptian priests), was the first to introduce philosophy in general in Greece." Likewise, Herodotos probably had Pythagoras in mind when he claimed that the doctrine of transmigration was taken from Egypt by certain (unnamed) Greeks. Herodotos writes:

> Moreover, the Egyptians are the first to have maintained the doctrine that the soul of man is immortal, and that, when the body perishes, it enters into another animal that is being born at the time, and when it has been the complete round of the creatures of the dry land and of the sea and of the air it enters again into the body of man at birth; and its cycle is completed in three thousand years. There are some Greeks who have adopted this doctrine, some in former times, and some in later, as if it were their own invention; I could mention their names, but I refrain from doing so.[30]

Philostratos (third century AD) remembered Herodotos, but he added that the Indians first taught the doctrine of the soul to the Egyptians who later passed it on to Pythagoras. The statements of Herodotos and Philostratos as well as some references found within certain Egyptian popular stories, the *Hermetic Works* and the *Book of the Dead*, make us think that a kind of belief in re-birth was current in ancient Egypt.[31] But most scholars have shown that there is still not sufficient evidence to verify that the Egyptians believed in reincarnation. The absence of evidence can be explained by the fact that the majority of Egyptian sources have been lost, mainly due to the hierarchical nature of the ancient Egyptian society. This knowledge, if there was any, must have been kept secret (perhaps orally preserved) by the priestly caste.

The travels of Pythagoras in Egypt, Babylon, and Persia (before he arrived in Southern Italy) were recorded by later biographers.[32] The most well-known story says that Pythagoras was captured in Egypt when Cambyses invaded the country and was then brought as a prisoner to Babylon. There he was initiated into the Babylonian sacred mysteries and sciences. It is important to note that the legendary trip of Pythagoras to India was not mentioned, even by later authors.[33] Only Alexander Polyhistor[34] and Philostratos[35] spoke of an indirect Indian influence on Pythagoras, through the Egyptians.

There is no actual proof that Pythagoras made these travels. The legend arises because of the mystical flavour of the Pythagorean teachings and his ideological and practical resemblance with the Indian philosophical traditions. But again it is inappropriate not to take into account the possibility that Pythagoras could have been influenced by the Orphic beliefs and practices, especially because he settled in Sicily, a flourishing centre of Orphicism in those days. This was likely since in Orphicism we certainly find its adherents organised in communities bound together by initiation as well as the existence of the belief in the doctrine of transmigration and purification of the soul.[36]

The doctrine of transmigration might have arisen as a result of certain speculations inspired by observations concerning the recycling process of natural phenomena, such as death and birth, winter and summer, day and

night, etc. Other concepts, such as the eternity of the soul,[37] resurrection,[38] and metamorphosis[39] that are affiliated with the doctrine of transmigration, were familiar to the Greeks since time immemorial. In this context are several stories: that of the peculiar life of Persephone, the daughter of goddess Demeter, who lived alternately above and below the earth, i.e., she was periodically reincarnated; and that of Aristeas of Proconnesus, who reappeared seven years after his death and again two hundred and forty years later, and also took the body of a crow.[40]

The followers of Pythagoras believed that reincarnation was common to all. One's next incarnation depended on the philosophical development of each particular soul. The cube of six (two hundred and sixteen years) was fixed as the exact time that intervened between each successive incarnation.[41] The soul was immortal, but the time of its embodiment was not infinite. Empedocles[42] spoke of thirty thousand periods (τρὶς μυρὶας ὥρας), while Herodotos, of three thousand years. During this time the soul passes through various animal, human, and divine incarnations. A clue that people who did good are rewarded after repeated deaths was given, for the first time in Greek literature, in a verse of the lyric poet Pindar (*c*. 522–*c*. 433 BC). The verse states that those who thrice on either side of death have refrained their souls from engaging in wickedness, travel on the road of Zeus to the tower of Cronos, where the ocean breezes blow around the island of the blest![43]

The Pythagorean doctrine of transmigration (παλιγγενεσία) finds parallels in India, particularly in Sāṅkhya and Jain philosophies which accept the plurality of souls and recognise human effort (discriminative knowledge according to Sāṅkhya) as a necessary condition for the purification (realisation of the undefiled purity according to Sāṅkhya) of the soul. A similar belief was held by the followers of the philosophical school of the Ājīvakas, who taught that each soul passes through eighty-four thousand births in different beings in its gradual evolution from the material world to freedom. But unlike others, the Ājīvakas held that the whole process is subject to a deterministic and mechanical law of evolution. All these schools agree that the soul finally regains its divine purity and liberates itself from the cosmic process of reincarnation.

The earliest elements of the Indian concept of rebirth are found in the hymns of the *Ṛgveda*, where the repeated occurrences of some natural phenomena was described as rebirth.[44] The release and return of the departed soul, in human and other forms of existence, and the retribution for good and evil deeds in future lives was also mentioned.[45] The doctrine of transmigration and its association with the Law of Karma was further developed and elaborated upon in the Upaniṣads, Jainism, Buddhism and later philosophical schools.

The regression of human souls into animal bodies was mentioned in the Upanisads: "Those whose conduct has been good will quickly attain some good birth, the birth of a Brāhmaṇa, a Kṣatriya, or a Vaiśya. But those whose conduct is evil will quickly attain an evil birth, the birth of a hog, dog, or a Caṇḍāla."[46]

A similar belief in the regression of human souls into animal bodies is found in the earliest known reference to Pythagoras' belief in transmigration, which is preserved in the book of Diogenes Laertios.[47] Diogenes quotes Xenophanes who bears witness about this fact in one of his elegies, as follows:

> they say that he (i.e., Pythagoras) was passing by when a dog was being whipped; and he took pity on it and said, 'Stop, do not beat it; for it is the soul (ψυχή) of a friend mine which I recognised as I heard his voice.'[47]

In another passage, Diogenes Laertios quotes Heraclides of Pontos (*c.* 90–310 BC), a pupil of Plato and Aristotle, who said that Pythagoras be-eved himself to have been different men at different times.

> Heraclides Ponticos says that [Pythagoras] says about himself that he was once Aethalides, who, when his father Hermes told him to choose whatever he wanted except immortality, he asked that both alive and dead he should remember what happened to him. So in his life he remembered everything, and when he died he retained the same memory. Sometime later he passed into Euphorbos (the Trojan), and was wounded by Menelaos. And Euphorbos used to say that he had once been Aethalides, who recounted the wanderings of his soul in animals and plants and told the fate of souls in Hades. When Euphorbos died, his soul passed into Hermotimos (the prophet of Clazomenae), who authenticated the story of his previous life by identifying the rotting shield of Menelaos in the temple of Apollo at Branchidae. When Hermotimos died, he became Pyrrhos the Delian fisherman; and again he remembered everything—how he had been first Aethalides, then Euphorbos then Hermotimos then Pyrrhos. When Pyrrhos died, he became Pythagoras, and remembered everything that had been said.[48]

It is noteworthy that the previous lives of Pythagoras were within the sphere of Greek influence, placing him firmly in the Hellenic tradition. From the way in which this story is told, it seems that several persons before Pythagoras had had knowledge of their previous lives. Perhaps those persons were known of since antiquity for having taught the doctrine of transmigration, but no details of their actual teachings have been handed down to us. In later days Cicero[49] and the anonymous author of the Greek Lexicon *Suidas* (probably tenth century AD) said that Pherecydes of Syros, the master of Pythagoras, taught the doctrine of metempsychosis and the immortality of the soul.

In the Mahāpadāna Sutta of the *Dīgha Nikāya*, the Buddha recalls his past seven incarnations and gives details about their social ranks, name,

clan, life-span, chief disciples, the assemblies of their followers, their attainments, and emancipation. He also explains that his ability to recall all the facts of his past lives was due to his own penetrating discernment and due to the (grace of) deities (devas) who made these matters known to him. In the Mahāsudassana Sutta of the *Dīgha Nikāya*, the Buddha reveals that he was King Mahāsudassana and that he, as a universal monarch, had cast his body in the same place (viz. former Kusāvatī) six times. In the *Buddhavaṁsa* of the *Khuddaka Nikāya*, the Buddha gives details about each one of the twenty-five Buddhas (including himself) and ends with the prophecy that Metteyya Buddha would come into this world in the future. The *Jātaka Pāli* contains five hundred and forty-seven stories of previous lives of the Buddha as recounted by the Buddha himself. The moral principles and practices which the Bodhisattva observed for self-development and perfection before the attainment of Buddhahood, are embedded in these stories. The Buddha, like Pythagoras' associate Empedocles,[50] includes among his former births animals, such as a monkey (*vānara-jātaka* and *kuṭidūsaka-jātaka*), hare (*sasa-jātaka*), parrot (*kālabāhu-jātaka*), jackal (*jambuka-jātaka*), heron (*kuntani-jātaka*), etc.

Claims about remembering previous lives are also found in the Orthodox tradition. In the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, it is said that the Vedic seer Vāmadeva knew his previous births as Manu and Sūrya.[51] In *Bhagavadgītā*, Lord Kṛṣṇa claims to remember all previous lives but he gives no details about them.[52] Further, in Patañjali's *Yoga Sūtra*,[53] awareness of previous and future lives is seen as a natural outcome of steadfast spiritual practice.

Another main factor which caused scholars to think Pythagoras was influenced by Indian practices and beliefs was that of his abstention from eating animal flesh. However, the sources concerning this abstention are controversial. Eudoxos said that Pythagoras instructed his disciples not only to abstain from eating meat, but also never to approach cooks and hunters. Onesicritos and the comic poets (viz. Antiphanes, Alexis, Aristophon, and Mnesimachos) said that Pythagoras commanded men to abstain from eating meat. Aristotle, Iamblichos, and Porphyrios said that such abstention from consuming flesh was certainly practised, but it was limited to certain species, such as pig and cow. They nevertheless were allowed to taste flesh when they first sacrificed it to the gods. Aristoxenos, Plutarch, Porphyrios, and Iamblichos said that Pythagoras allowed and even advocated meat in the diet of athletes.[54] From these contradictory testimonies we might conclude that the Pythagoreans followed different rules in different times and places, and that they instructed different regulations for more and less advanced disciples. The prohibition evidently was connected with a belief in reincarnation and the kinship of all life. It also served as a means of self discipline and purification from passions. Certain species,

parts of animals, beans, and perhaps other kinds of food were forbidden on both religious and superstitious grounds.

In the *Mahābhārata* and the Buddhist Jātakas we find several references where the Brāhmaṇas are described as eating non-vegetarian food, especially on festival days and sacrificial occasions. In the *Bhagavadgītā*[55] food is divided into three categories: pure (sattvika) which increases vitality, health and joy; over-tasty (rājasa) which produces passionate desires and sickness; and unclean (tāmasa) which includes stale and putrid food. No direct distinction between vegetarian and non-vegetarian food was mentioned, but we may assume that flesh could only be included in the second and third categories. The development of vegetarianism in later Hindu (especially in Vaiṣṇava tradition) might be due to the influence of Jainism.

The Jains classified non-injury (ahiṁsā) as first among their five 'great vows' (mahāvratas). 'Non-injury' includes abstention from injuring any living being in thought, word, and deed as well as commands to expand positive help to all creatures in need. For the protection of animal life, Mahāvīra prohibited his followers from partaking in a non-vegetarian diet. Gautama Buddha advocated similar rules concerning non-violence[56] but he did not prohibit flesh-eating. On the contrary it is said that the Buddha died after eating the poisonous 'tender pig' (sūkara-maddava) offered by Cunda.[57] The *Pāli Canon* instructs subjects to abstain from accepting uncooked meat, to fast after mid-day, and to abstain from destroying all seeds and vegetation.[58]

William Jones[59] and other scholars thought that Pythagoras derived his philosophy about numbers from the dualistic philosophy of Kapila. The reason given was that the Sanskrit word 'Sāṅkhya' (from Saṅkhyā) has the meaning of 'number.'[60] But the Sāṅkhya philosophy is not known to have dealt with the doctrine of numbers. It is rather thought to be named for the conceptual 'counting' or 'numbering' the twenty-four progressively more subtle categories by which creation takes on its dimentionality and distinctiveness. The Pythagorean theory that the essence of numbers is the essence of material things is a unique contribution in the history of human thought. Nevertheless, general parallels might be drawn regarding their dualistic conceptions of the primordial principles (Limited-Unlimited and Puruṣa-Prakṛti) and also regarding their soteriological considerations, but fundamental differences exist as to their nature, function, and methods.

DEMOCRITOS

Democritos (*c.* 460–*c.* 370 BC) was born in Abdera, a small city on the coast of western Thrace in North Greece, which maintained close connections with Persia (particularly after the invasion of Xerxes in 480 BC). He

probably heard tales about the wisdom of the Chaldean Magi which inspired him to travel to the East. Clement of Alexandria[61] mentioned that Democritos travelled more than any other man of his time, and that he had had an audience with a great number of wise people. Diogenes Laertios extended the estimation of these travels, stating that Democritos was believed to have met and spoken with Indian gymnosophists and that he had reached as far as Ethiopia.[62] Likewise, Aelian said that Democritos of Abdera travelled extensively for the sake of knowledge and that he had visited the Chaldaeans of Babylon and the magicians and sophists of India.[63] Strabo, however, on the authority of Megasthenes, said, "Democritos, who had travelled over a large part of Asia, disbelieves that in the mountainous country [of India, not mentioned by name] is a river, the Silas, on the waters of which nothing will float, and so does Aristotle."[64] From this statement we might infer that Democritos' visit to India was not known to Megasthenes and Strabo; otherwise, they would have used the verb 'know' instead of 'disbelieve.' The actual extent of Democritos' travels cannot be determined.

In the course of his travels Democritos visited Athens, which at the time was a great centre of learning, but he complained that no one recognised him.[65] Democritos probably studied the atomic theory, which is a natural outcome of the Pythagorean and Parmenidean conceptions of monad, with Leukippos.[66] He finally returned to Abdera where, with the financial help of his brother Damasos, he was able to dedicate himself solely to study. The majority of Democritos' writings seem to relate to Babylonian and Egyptian literature, but no connection with the 'practical idealism' of the gymnosophists can be traced in them.

The atomic theory of Democritos, however, finds counterparts in the Jain and Vaiśeṣika philosophies of India. Like Democritos, the Jains do not maintain any qualitative difference in the original nature of atoms which they consider to be homogeneous. The atoms are differentiated at a secondary stage when they come together in different combinations and develop the qualities of savour, colour, odour and tangibility. Material objects (saṅghāta or skandha) including senses, mind (manas) and breath are combinations of atoms.

The Vaiśeṣikas are in agreement with the theory of Democritos and Leukippos that the material cause of the universe consists of innumerable indivisible, partless, and imperceptible atoms; they admit five kinds of atoms—earth (pṛthivī), water (ap), fire (tejas), air (vāyu), and mind (manas). Unlike Democritos and Epicuros, however, the Vaiśeṣikas considered atoms as inactive and motionless by themselves. Motion is imparted to them during creation, not by a mechanical law, but by the 'unseen (adṛṣṭa) power' of merit and demerit which resides in the individual souls.

Democritos accepted only quantitative difference, but the Vaiśeṣikas admit both quantitative and qualitative differences. Vaiśeṣikas' atomism attributes primary and secondary qualities to the atoms which are also regarded as eternal. Each atom has a particularity (viśeṣa) of its own that distinguishes it from the others. Democritos accepted the atomic nature of the soul but the Vaiśeṣikas regarded mind (manas) as atomic and souls as distinct spiritual (not atomic) entities.

Buddhist atomic theory is a post-canonical development. The Vaibhāṣikas recognise two kind of atoms: unitary atoms (dravya-paramāṇu) and aggregate atoms (saṅghāta-paramāṇu). The former are the smallest units of matter, partless and with no spatial dimensions. The latter are combinations of unitary atoms, which originate and cease simultaneously. The dravya-paramāṇu resemble the atoms of Democritos but the Vaibhāṣikas like other Buddhists do not admit their permanent existence.

The Theravādins do not recognise the dravya-paramāṇu, but admit the existence of twenty-eight material elements (rūpa-dhamma) that make up the totality of worldly existence. They are classified into two groups: primary (mahābhūtas) and secondary (upādārūpas). The primary elements [viz. earth (paṭhivī), water (āpo), fire (tejo), and air (vāyo)] are united in aggregate monads (rūpa-kalāpas) and are present in every material object. The rūpa-kalāpas correspond to the saṅghāta-paramāṇu of the Vaibhāṣikas and in many aspects they resemble the 'seeds' of Anaxagoras. But while Anaxagoras maintained that the opposite qualities were united in different proportions, the Theravādins hold that they exist in equal proportions and do not admit a quantitative difference between them. The distinction between different rūpa-kalāpas and compound objects is not due to a difference in quantity, but to a difference in intensity.[67]

PLATO

Plato (428–347 BC) writes, in some of his letters, about his travels in South Italy and Sicily. He says nothing, though, of a personal visit to Africa or Egypt, yet some of his observations about the music, mathematics, and games of the Egyptian children have the appearance of being first-hand. According to later biographers,[68] Plato travelled to Cyrene and Egypt after the death of Socrates. Some of these stories are clearly partly legendary; one even describes Euripides as his companion, although the poet died in 406 BC, seven years before the death of Socrates. One legendary story (attributed to Olympiodoros) says that Plato could not succeed in fulfilling his desire to reach Persia. However, he went to Phoeniki where he studied Zoroastrianism and other Persian traditions. Clement of Alexandria speaks of a visit of Plato to Babylon and the land of the Jews were he learned

Mosaic law. Pausanias in his *Description of Greece*, informs us that Plato was well-acquainted with Zoroastrian and Indian wisdom. "I know that the Chaldaeans and the Indian magicians were the first to say that the soul of man is immortal, and have been followed by some of the Greeks, particularly by Plato the son of Ariston."[69] Also, Aristocrates mentioned that the orator and statesman Lycourgos of Athens (390-324 BC), a disciple of Plato and Isocrates and supporter of Demosthenes, travelled to India and spoke with the gymnosophists.[70]

In comparing Plato with Indian philosophers we find close similarities in their approaches to the following subjects: (i) the nature of the World-Soul (Ὂν or Δημιουργὸς corresponding to Brahmā and Īśvara); (ii) the doctrines of reincarnation and Karma; (iii) the division of knowledge into two kinds—the real knowledge [ἐπιστήμη, Kevala-jñāna (Jainism), Paramārtha-jñāna (Buddhism), Parā-vidyā (Upaniṣads)] and the subjective opinion [δόξα, Syādvāda (Jainism), Vyavahāra-jñāna (Buddhism), Aparā-vidyā (Upaniṣads)]. Also, there are similarities in the ideal division of society into orders, viz. the great mass of citizens who provide the material foundation of life (δῆμος; γεωργοί, καὶ δημιουργοὶ corresponding to Vaiśyas and Śūdras), the warriors and officials (ἐπικουροὶ—φύλακες corresponding to Kṣatriyas), and the rulers (ἄρχοντες—φιλόσοφοι corresponding to the Kṣatriya rulers (rājas) and the Brāhmaṇas). In addition, both Plato and the authors of the Upaniṣads utilise the notion of divinity to explain the nature of time (χρόνος, kāla) which is understood in a twofold division, as eternal and temporal. Further parallels have been drawn between the Platonic tripartite soul and the five sheaths of the ātman mentioned in the Upaniṣads. The three constitutive subtle elements, for Plato and Sāṅkhya, also have a similar function: the rational element (λογιστικὸν) corresponds to Sattva, the element of passion (θυμοειδὲς) corresponds to Rajas and the element of desire (ἐπιθυμητικὸν) corresponds to Tamas.[71]

PYRRHO

Pyrrho (also Pyrrhon) of Elis (*c.* 365–*c.* 275 BC), the father of scepticism, was a disciple of Anaxarchos (a disciple of Democritos) of Abdera, and in *c.* 330 BC established himself as a teacher at Elis. He wrote nothing and very little is known about him. Some of his teachings were preserved in the poems of his disciple Timon of Phlios, the sillographer, and the works of Sextos Empeirikos, who had codified Greek scepticism in the third century AD. Pyrrho's travels to India are known through Diogenes Laertios, who mentions that he accompanied Anaxarchos on his travels everywhere so that he even mixed with the Indian gymnosophists and with the Magi.[72] Diogenes says that Pyrrho withdrew from the world and lived in solitude

because he had heard an Indian saying to his teacher Anaxarchos, "you will never be able to teach others what is good as long as you attend dances in the kings' courts. Diogenes also quotes the words of Ascanios of Abdera, who said Pyrrho took from the Indians the philosophical approaches of agnosticism and suspension of judgement.

Believing that all knowledge is relative and conventional (νόμῳ) and not an objective natural necessity, Pyrrho advocated that man must suspend (ἐπέχειν) judgement and dismiss all knowledge as valueless. Pyrrhonean relativism finds parallels in the teachings of Heraclitos,[73] Xenophanes,[74] as well as in the teachings of the Sophists, especially of Protagoras, Gorgias, and Metrodoros of Chios. Pyrrho's agnosticism (ἀκαταληψία) has been compared with the Jain theory of relativity of knowledge (syādvāda) but we need not forget that the Jains, apart from their relative and subjective point of view (naya), admit the real knowledge of things (Kevala-jñāna) as given by the scriptural authorities (pramāṇa) and the liberated sages (Tīrthaṅkaras, Kevalis, Siddhas, etc.). Right knowledge (samyak jñāna) is one of the Three Jewels (tri-ratna) of Jainism which jointly form the path to liberation.[75]

The Buddha was reluctant to accept any notion of ultimate reality[76] and dismissed all questions regarding metaphysical problems as leading to fruitless discussion and wrangling. He advised the wise man not to embrace the opinions of the people[77] which, when are taken as absolute and ultimate, become a source of dogmatism and conflict.[78] This does not mean that he denied their relative value as a whole. The Buddha's social revolution was limited to those who were ready to renounce the world and its values, but for laymen all conventions were considered to be as much useful as the world itself.[79] Later on Nāgārjuna[80] related to the teachings of Buddha a distinction between relative truth (Pāl. sammuti, Sk. saṁvṛti) and absolute truth (Pāl. paramāttha, Sk. paramārtha). The first includes all moral, religious, social, and ideological conventions which are relative and dependent upon specific conditions. The latter is the ultimate good (lit. 'fruit'), which represents the ultimate ideal of freedom from all finite thoughts and sufferings and can be experienced as a result of attaining Nirvāṇa.

Absolute agnosticism (ajñānavāda) was advocated by a few minor heretical teachers especially by Sañcaya Belaṭṭhaputta who is introduced in the *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* as propagating the four famous negative prepositions.[81] The questions with regard to which Sañcaya Belaṭṭhaputta suspended judgement, however, are in fact the same as those cosmological, ontological and theological questions on which both Buddha and Mahāvīra asserted that no final answer is possible. From the Buddhist criticism we might deduce that Sañcaya did not offer the alternative of the absolute truth.[82]

Pyrrho shared with the Stoics the highest ideals of serenity (ἀταραξία) and indifference (ἀπάθεια) to external conditions. He believed these can be achieved when it is realised that the cause of suffering is not immanent in the things of the world but in the passionate desire to obtain or to avoid them.[83] Such ideals are also found in Indian philosophies particularly among the gymnosophists[84] but this does not necessarily mean that Pyrrho took his theory from India. The ascetic ideals were well-known and practised for several centuries by the roaming bards and cynic philosophers in Greece.

PLOTINOS

Plotinos (AD 204–70), the main exponent of Neoplatonism, was a cosmopolitan, broad-minded man who spoke and cared little about parents, homeland, and race. His short biography was added to the preface of his teachings (*Enneads*) edited in AD 301 by his disciple Porphyrios. He studied in Alexandria under Ammonios Sakkas (the founder of Neoplatonism) for eleven years, where he might have met Indians and Persians. He tried to acquire first-hand knowledge of Eastern philosophies by joining the imperial expedition of the Roman Emperor Gordian III against Persia (AD 242–43). The expedition came to a disastrous end and Plotinos, unable to fulfil his intentions, escaped to Antioch. A year later he arrived in Rome, where he began teaching and was highly recognised and supported. His philosophy mainly was based on Plato's works, but he also derived several of his ideas from Aristotle, the Stoics, the Neopythagoreans, and Philo. Plotinos' last words, "I am trying to bring back the divine in us to the divine in the All," contain the essence of the faith that he practised and taught with calm intensity during his life. Saint Augustine (AD 354–430) was greatly influenced by his teachings and through him the Christian medieval writers.

In comparing the teachings of Plotinos with the Indian monistic philosophies, one finds striking similarities, especially, with Kaśmīr Śaivism. The first Being (τὸ πρῶτον ὄν—Brahman, Śiva) is indeterminate (ἀόριστον—nirvikalpa, nirviśeṣa, and nirguṇa), infinite (ἄπειρον, anantam), and beyond all the qualities and categories (ἄρρητον—anirvacanīya), including the concepts of being (οὐσία—sat) and intellect (νόησις—cit), that mind and speech can grasp. The best means of understanding It is to maintain silence or to negate all categories. This reminds us of the negative theology of pseudo-Dionysios, the 'neti, neti' (it is not this, it is not this) of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, and the destructive dialectics of Nāgārjuna. In relative terms, the first Being is One (ἕν—ekamevādvitīyam), Good (ἀγαθόν—Śivam), and the first Force (πρώτη δύναμις—Ādyā-Śakti). The empirical world is the result of the spontaneous and eternal radiance or emanation (ἐκπομπή—spanda, unmeṣa) of the first Being. The process of

creation is a gradual one leading finally to the formation of matter; intelligence (νοῦς—cit) first becomes soul (ψυχή—puruṣa) and then matter (ὕλη—jaḍa). The world is the image (εἰκών—ābhāsa) of the One reflecting its divine beauty and goodness.[85] But if our unity with the Divine is forgotten and we identify ourselves with theephemeral material contents (ἑτερότης—bheda bhāva) the world becomes the cause of evil [πρῶτον κακόν—mala (dirt), tuccha (low)] and imprisonment. Liberation (mokṣa), Self-recognition (pratyabhijñā), and 'touch' with Godhead (ἁφή, ἅπλωσις) are synonymous. They can be attained during one's own life time through self discipline and contemplation and especially through a love of beauty (ἔρως—bhakti).[86]

REFERENCES

1. "ὁ τῆς τοιαύτης ἀρχηγὸς φιλοσοφίας," Aristotle, *Met.*, A3, 983 b6.
2. I, 22. (DK, 11 A 1.) Cf. Herodotos, I, 170. The references to Douris and Democritos are unknown.
3. See G.S. Kirk and J.E. Raven, *The Presocratic Philosophers*, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1960), pp. 76–78.
4. *Met.*, A3, 983 b6 ff.
5. Ibid., 983 b27.
6. "Oceanos begetter of gods and mother Tethys," *Iliad*, XIV, 200, repeated at XIV, 301; and "Oceanos who is the begetter of all." Ibid., XIV, 244.
7. "salilam sarvamā idam." *Nāsadīya Sūkta*, 3. (*Ṛgveda*, X, 129.)
8. B.M. Barua, *A History of Pre-Buddhist Indian Philosophy*, [reprint, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1970 (1921)], p. 12.
9. For a detailed study on the water as a primordial symbol in Hindu myths, see Frans Baartmans, *'Āpaḥ', the Sacred Waters—An Analysis of a Primordial Symbol in Hindu Myths*, B.R. Publishing Corporation, Delhi, 1990.
10. "Θαλῆς ᾠήθη πάντα πλήρη θεῶν εἶναι." Aristotle, *De. An. (On the Soul)*, A5, 411a7; Diogenes Laertios, I, 24–27; DK, 11 A 21.
11. "Τὴν λίθον ἔφη ψυχὴν ἔχειν, ὅτι τὸν σίδηρον κινεῖ." Aristotle, *De An.*, A2, 405a 19–20. Diogenes Laertios (I, 24) adds electron.
12. "Īśāvāsyam idaṁ sarvaṁ yatkiñca jagatyāṁ jagat." *Īśa Upaniṣad*, 1.
13. *Ṛgveda*, X, 72.
14. Barua, op. cit., pp. 17–18.
15. *Atharvaveda*, XI, 6.
16. Barua, op. cit., pp. 24–25.
17. II, I, 4, 11 ff.
18. Barua, op. cit., pp. 41–42. The exact translation of Protagoras' maxim is "Man is the measure of all things; of the things that are, that they are, of the things that they are not, that they are not." DK, 80 B 1.
19. But, Ion of Chios, one of the earlier writers who spoke about Pythagoras, said that Pythagoras wrote several verses and attributed them to Orpheus. DK, 36 B 2.
20. IV, 95.
21. DK, B 129.
22. Fr. 40, (Diogenes Laertios, IX, 1).

23. "κοπίδων ἀρχηγός." DK, B 81.
24. DK, B 40.
25. "Ion of Chios says about him (Pherecydes): 'Thus did he excel in manhood and honour, and now that he is dead he has a delightful existence for his soul—if indeed Pythagoras the wise learned and knew true opinions above all men.'" Diogenes Laertios, I, 120.(DK, 36 B 4.)
26. *An.*, 407 b 20. (DK, 58 B 39.)
27. See D. Th. Vassiliades, "Concepts of Reincarnation amongst the Ancient Greeks," *Yavanika*, no. 6.
28. DK, 22 B 129.
29. Ch. 28. See W.K.C. Guthrie, *A History of Greek Philosophy*, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1962), vol. I, p.163.
30. Herodotos, II, 123.
31. See *Reincarnation in World Thought*, edited by Joseph Head and S.L. Cranston, (Julian Press, New York, 1967), pp. 69–71.
32. Cicero, *De fin.*, V, 29, 87; Hippolytos, *Ref.*, I, 2, 12; Clement, *Stromateis*, I, 69; Plutarch, *De An. Procr.*, 2; Apuleius, *Flor.*, 15; Porphyrios, *Life of Pythagoras*, 6, 12, 41; Iamblichos, *Life of Pythagoras*, 19, 151, 154; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XXV, 5, XXX, 2, ff. The relevant fragments referring to Pythagoras' contacts with Zoroaster in person, and Chaldaeans and Magi in general have been collected in Guthrie, *A History of Greek Philosophy*, vol. I, pp. 253–54.
33. The reference to Aristeides given by Arora (*GI*, p. 104), could not be verified. Poplius Ailios Aristeides, (AD 117-*c.* 188) simply mentioned the winged ants in India ('ἐν Ἰνδοῖς μύρμηκας ὑποπτέρους,' *Panathenaic Oration*, Loeb ed. I, 25) and the wonders of India (ibid., I, 94) but he did not say anything about Pythagoras.
34. Keith ["Pythagoras and the Doctrine of Reincarnation," *JRAS of Great Britain and Ireland*, (London, 1909), p. 572] cites Schroeder (through Zeller, pp. 327–9) who said that Pythagoras, according to Alexander Polyhistor, made one journey to the Brahmins, but he probably is in error as Jean W. Sedlar, [*India and the Greek World*, (Rowman and Littlefield, New Jersey, 1980), p. xx], who cites directly from Schroeder's *Pythagoras und die Inder*, (Leipzig 1884, pp. 24-25 and notes), simply says that several authors including Alexander Polyhistor, Apuleius (*c.* AD 150), and Philostratos held the opinion that Pythagoras had acquired some of his wisdom from India.
35. Philostratos said that Pythagoras took the doctrine of reincarnation (III, 19) and the rule of vegetarianism (VIII, 7, 4) from the Egyptians who had learned them from the Indians. Also, it appears that the passage, "καὶ κατ' Αἴγυπτον δὲ οἱ Γυμνοὶ καὶ Ἰνδῶν οἱ σοφοί, παρ' ὧν τοῖς ἀμφὶ Πυθαγόραν αἱ τῆς σοφίας ἀρχαὶ ἐφοίτησαν," VIII, 7, 12, (which refers to the condemnation of blood sacrifices by Egyptian, Indian, and Pythagorean sages) should be understood as shedding light upon the process by which knowledge was passed from Indians to Egyptians and then from Egyptians to Pythagoreans.
36. See Gorman, op. cit., p. 47; A.C. Pearson, "Transmigration in Greek Religion," *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. XII, p. 432.
37. For example, *Iliad*, XXIII, 71, where Patroklos' ghost visits Achilles and says, "I shall not come back again from Hades, when you have given me my portion of fire." See also, *Odyssey*, XI, 219, where the ghost of Odysseus' mother appears before her son and tells him the lot of the dead.
38. For example, the Minoan myth of Glaukos and Polyidos in Apollodoros? *Bibliotheke*, III, 3f; and the resurrection of the Thracian Zalmoxis, who reappeared in a body three years after his death in Herodotos, IV, 94-96.

39. For example, *Odyssey*, IV, 351–570, where Proteus, the old man of the sea, takes successively the forms of a lion, dragon, tiger, boar, tree and even water,
40. Herodotos, IV, 14–15.
41. DK, 14 B 8.
42. DK, 31 B 115.
43. *Odes*, Olympia, 2.
44. "Mitra is born again." ("mitro jāyate punaḥ." X, 85, 19); "The Dawn (Uṣas) is born again and again." ("punaḥ punar jāyamānā." I, 92, 10).
45. "I seek neither release nor return." ("na asyāḥ vaśmi vimucaṁ na āvṛtaṁ punaḥ." V, 46, 1); "The immortal self will be reborn in a new body due to its meritorious deeds." ("jīvo mṛtasya carati svadhābhir amartyo martyenā sa yoniḥ." I, 164, 30). See also, I, 164, 38 and "Good men go to heaven." I, 154, 5, "Others to the world presided over by Yama" X, 14, 2. "Their work (dharma) decided their future." X, 16, 3. See S. Radhakrishnan, *The Principal Upaniṣads*, (reprint, Harper Collins, Delhi, 1994), pp. 43–44.
46. *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, V, 10,7. See also, *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, VI, 3, 16.
47. VIII, 36. (DK, 21 B 7.)
48. Diogenes Laertios, VIII, 4; DK, 14 A 8. Cf. Apollonios Rhodios, I, 640 ff; and Philostratos, *Vita Apollonii*, III, 10; VIII, 7,4.
49. *Tusculans*, I, 16.
50. "For already have I once been a boy and a girl, a bush and a bird and a dumb sea fish." Diogenes Laertios, VIII, 77, (DK, 31 B 117). Anaximander was the first to develop the theory of evolution. He said that living creatures came into being from moisture evaporated by the sun and that man was originally similar to a fish. DK, 12 A 11; A 30.
51. "ahaṁ manur abhavaṁ sūryaś ceti." I, 4, 10.
52. "Many births have gone by Me and of thee too, O Arjuna! I know them all, but thou knowest not, O Paraṁtapa." *Bhagavad Gītā*, IV, 5.
53. "When a man becomes steadfast in his abstention from greed, he gains knowledge of his past, present and future existences." III, 39.
54. For a collection of fragments and references, see Guthrie, *A History of Greek Philosophy*, vol. I, pp. 187–91, 194–95.
55. XVII, 7–10.
56. *Saṁyutta Nikāya*, I, 165; *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, I, 151; *Theragātha*, I, 879; *Dhammapada*, 225, 261, 270; et seq.
57. *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta*, 189 ff. (BITS, XII.) See also, *Cakkavati Sutta*, 103, where Buddha says that sāli rice cooked with meat was considered the best food of his time.
58. *Brahmajāla Sutta*, 10; *Sāmaññaphala Sutta*, 194. Included in 'Cūḷa Śīla' or Minor Morality. (BITS, XII.)
59. *The Works of Sir William Jones*, vol. III, pp. 236, 246 et seq.
60. In *Mahābhārata* (including *Bhagavad Gītā*, V, 4–5) the word is used in the sense of 'right knowledge' (samyak khyāti or jñāna) as counterpart of Yoga (practical discipline).
61. DK, B 229.
62. "ἀποδημῆσαι αὐτὸν καὶ εἰς Αἴγυπτον πρὸς τοὺς ἱερέας γεωμετρίαν μαθησόμενον καὶ πρὸς Χαλδαίους εἰς τὴν Περσίδα καὶ εἰς Ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν γενέσθαι· τοῖς τε γυμνοσοφισταῖς φασί τινες συμμῖξαι αὐτὸν ἐν Ἰνδίᾳ καὶ εἰς Αἰθιοπίαν ἐλθεῖν." Diogenes Laertios, IX, 34–36.
63. "Δημόκριτον τὸν Ἀβδηρίτην λόγος ἔχει τά τε ἄλλα γενέσθαι σοφὸν καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐπιθυμῆσαι λαθεῖν, καὶ ἐν ἔργῳ θέσθαι πάνυ σφόδρα τοῦτο. διὰ ταῦτά τοι καὶ πολλὴν ἐπῄει γῆν. ἧκεν οὖν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Χαλδαίους ἐς Βαβυλῶνα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς

μάγους καὶ τοὺς σοφιστὰς τῶν Ἰνδῶν." Aelian, *Varia Historia*, IV, 20.

64. Megasthenes, fr. XXIII. The same story is repeated without mentioning the authority of Megasthenes in Strabo (XV, I, 38). In the latter reference, Strabo explains why the Greek philosophers, already well-known for their investigations into nature's processes, began to pay attention to the River Sila. He says that the matter concerning floating bodies belongs to physics and its investigation must be referred to this science. The first reference to the fountain Silan [Antigonos, *Hist. mir.*, 146, (*FGrH*, no. 688, Fr. 47a)] or a pool of water called Siden [Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XXXI, 2, (*FGrH*, no. 688, Fr. 47b)] in which even the lightest substance that was cast into it, does not float but always sinks to the bottom was attributed to Ctesias. It was repeated by the contemporary of Herodotos, Hellanikos of Lesbos [*Paradox. gr. Vat. Rohd.*, 36, (*FGrH*, no. 4, Fr. 190)] and other Hellenistic authors.
65. "Ἦλθον γὰρ εἰς Ἀθήνας καὶ οὔ τις με ἔγνωκεν." DK, A 1; Diogenes Laertios, IX, 35.
66. Diogenes Laertios, IX, 34.
67. See Y. Karunadasa, "The Buddhist Theory of Matter," *Sambhasha—Mahabodhi Centenary Commemorative Volume*, (Ministry of Education and Higher Education, Branch of Pirivena Education, Colombo, 1991), vol. 1, no. 2, pp. 44–53.
68. Diogenes Laertios, III, 6; Strabo, XVII, 806; Diodoros, I, 98, ff.
69. "ἐγὼ δὲ Χαλδαίους καὶ Ἰνδῶν τούς μάγους πρώτους οἶδα εἰπόντας ὡς ἀθάνατός ἐστιν ἀνθρώπου ψυχή, καί σφισι καὶ Ἑλλήνων ἄλλοι τε ἐπείσθησαν καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα Πλάτων ὁ Ἀρίστωνος." Bk. 4 (Messenia), XXXII, 4. Pausanias, born at Magnesia in Asia Minor, second century AD, wrote the *Description of Greece* containing much antiquarian and mythological lore.
70. "Ὅτι δὲ καὶ Λιβύην καὶ Ἰβηρίαν ἐπῆλθεν ὁ Λυκοῦργος, καὶ περὶ τὴν Ἰνδικὴν πλανηθεὶς τοῖς γυμνοσοφισταῖς ὡμίλησεν, οὐδένα πλὴν Ἀριστοκράτη τὸν Ἱππάρχου Σπαρτιάτην εἰρηκότα γινώσκομεν." Aristocrates (Plutarch, *Lyc.*, C. 4) in *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, edited by Carolus Mullerus, (Editore Ambrosio Firmin Didot, Parisiis, 1851), vol. IV, p. 332.
71. For comparative studies, see Vassilis Vitsaxis, *Plato and the Upanisads*; Swami Paramananda, *Plato and Vedic Idealism*, Anmol Publ., New Delhi; A.K. Sinha, "The Platonic and Upanishadic Concepts of Time," *Yavanika*, no. 4, pp. 80–90; Radhakrishnan, *Eastern Religion and Western Thought*, p. 147.
72. "Εἶτ' Ἀναξάρχου, ξυνακολουθῶν πανταχοῦ ὡς καὶ τοῖς γυμνοσοφισταῖς ἐν Ἰνδίᾳ συμμίξαι καὶ τοῖς Μάγοις." Diogenes Laertios, IV, 1, 35.
73. For example, "To God all things are fair and good and just, but men have supposed some things to be unjust and others just." Fr. 102; and "Although the logos always holds, people are continually unable to understand it, both before they have heard it and once they have heard it." Fr. 1.
74. "There never was nor will be a man who has certain knowledge about the gods and about all the things I speak of. Even if he should chance to say the complete truth, yet he himself knows not that it is so. But all may have their fancy." Fr. 34.
75. "Samyagdarśana-jñāna cāritrāṇi mokṣamārgaḥ." Umāsvāmī, *Tattvārtha Sūtra*. I, 1, 1–2.
76. *Sutta Nipāta*, 796 et seq.
77. Ibid., 897.
78. Cf. "Their own Dhamma they say is perfect, another's Dhamma again they say is wretched; so having disagreed they dispute, they each say their own opinions (are) the truth." *Sutta Nipāta*, 904. (SBE, X.)
79. Cf. Hermann Oldenberg, *Buddha: His Life, His Teachings, His Order*, [tr. from German by William Hoey, Lancer International, New Delhi, 1992 (1882)], pp. 153–54.

80. *Mādhyamika Kārikā*, XXIV, 8.
81. "I would not say this way, nor that way, not the other way; neither would I say not this way, not that way, not the other way; nor would I say otherwise." *Sāmaññaphala Sutta*, 181. (BITS, XII.)
82. Cf. "Venerable Sir! I was not pleased with what Sañcaya Belatthaputta told me. But I did not say that I rejected it and said nothing about my displeasure, I arose and departed from his presence without accepting what he said or paying any heed to it." Ibid. For a comparative study between Pyrrho and Sañcaya, see Paul Le Valley, "What did the Gymnosophists Believe?" *Yavanika*, no. 2, pp. 61–84.
83. "Πᾶσα τοίνυν κακοδαιμονία γίνεται διὰ τινὰ ταραχήν. Ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσα ταραχὴ παρέπεται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἤτοι διὰ τὸ συντόνως τινὰ διώκειν καὶ διὰ τὸ συντόνως τινὰ φεύγειν." Sextos Empeirikos, (Loeb, ed. 1953), III, pp. 438–42.
84. For example, "The beautiful creation of Maya does not cause any change in my self. Neither crookedness and deceit nor truth and untruth can produce any effect on me. I am Existence-Knowledge-Bliss and boundless as space." *Avadhūta Gītā*, III, 27; and "He whose mind is free from anxiety amid pains, indifferent amid pleasures, loosed from passion, fear and anger, he is called a sage of stable mind (sthitadhīḥ)." *Bhagavad Gītā*, II, 56.
85. *Enn.*, 2, 9, 8.
86. For comparative studies, see *Neoplatonism and Indian Thought*, edited by R. Baine Harris, International Society for Neoplatonic Studies, Norfolk, Virginia, State University of New York Press, Albany, 1982; J.F. Staal, *Advaita and Neoplatonism*, A Critical Study in Comparative Philosophy, University of Madras, Madras, 1961.

APPENDIX 2

The Oriental Origin Theory

The close cultural contacts of Greece with Oriental countries and the early journeys of Greek philosophers and poets to eastern lands have caused several scholars to question the extent of Oriental influence upon the formation and development of Greek philosophy. As a matter of fact, the ancient Greeks had attributed part of their learning to the Orient,[1] but at the same time they equally emphasised the independent advancement of the Greek thought. Statements like Plato's "Whatever the Greeks may owe to the barbarians, they ultimately make it better and ennoble it"[2] and Hegel's "Just as intellectual culture in general, the Greeks, to be sure, have received alien impulses; the very fact that they have transformed these, however, is what constitutes their own intellectual culture. They have received, but also suspended, the Asian principle,"[3] give a clear illustration of the difficulty and complexity of deciphering in which directions and to what extent the diffusion of the ideas occurred.

It is difficult to accept that there was a mutual influence between the early Greek and Indian philosophers. It has been shown that before the expansion of the Persian Empire, India for the Greeks and Greece for the Indians had existed for millennia without being known to each other. The two peoples had no direct access and no means of mutual interaction. Even if we risk the assumption that a few unnoticed brave individuals or nomadic groups succeeded in crossing the vast land mass of Sumerians, Babylonians, and Akkadians, it is hardly conceivable that they could have returned home and told of the worlds that they had seen.

We might accept that an abstract diffusion of ideas had been possible through the movement of legends and myths which could later have inspired the development of certain philosophical ideas. We must not forget, however, that such tales would have lost and gained many nuances as they passed through many mouths and miles on their long journey from one nation to the other. Even during the expansion of the Persian Empire, when Greeks and North Indians met in the palaces of Persian kings, we have no evidence that Indian philosophy moved away from the Indian mainland. Garbe's[4] assumption that Indian philosophy could have been transferred from India to Greece by Greeks who met Indians in Persia does not have

any factual support. Neither Persians nor Greeks seem to have had any knowledge of or interest in Indian philosophy. As far as is known, no ancient writer mentions travels of Greek philosophers to India and none of them seem to have known anything about Indian philosophies or beliefs.

Scylax, Hecataeos, Herodotos, and Ctesias as we have seen, associated the Indo-Āryan tribes with strange customs and fantastic miracles. Much less can be derived from the incidental notes on India found in the works of Aeschylos, Sophocles, Hippocrates, Xenophon, Ephoros, and Hellanikos. Democritos, who had travelled in search of knowledge over a great part of Asia, expressed only doubts about the miraculous descriptions of India made by earlier writers.

The claim of pseudo-Kallisthenes that Alexander sent a long letter describing India and Indian philosophers to his tutor Aristotle, is historically possible, because Aristotle died five years after the beginning of Alexander's expedition in India. However, the claim of contemporary scholars that Aristotle's philosophy was influenced by this letter is logically impossible. Aristotle, who had refuted the spiritual idealism of his teacher Plato, had already formulated his philosophical doctrines which are much different from the ideals of the gymnosophists. Besides, there is nothing in his writings to suggest that he ever heard anything about Indian philosophers and philosophies.

Aristotle, unable to get any reliable information, based his knowledge of India upon the descriptions of the early writers, especially of Ctesias. About Ctesias, though, he unhesitatingly stated that he was an undependable writer and a liar. Aristotle mentioned, mainly in his *Historia Animalium*, a few strange Indian animals. He refers to the anthropophagous martikhora which had a human face and a triple row of teeth, (perhaps a tiger, first described by Ctesias); the elephant, whose semen when dry is hard like amber; the Indian dogs, birds, and others. Aristotle's inadequate knowledge about Indians might be clearly seen in his superficial description that the Indian is black, but has white teeth.[5] Therefore, it would be appropriate to conclude that the pre-Alexandrian Greeks remained unaware of mainland India which extended beyond the eastern horizon of the known world, a land where great philosophical and spiritual traditions were flourishing.

It was only later, during the Roman Empire, that Greek and Eastern philosophies and ideas became widespread.[6] Egyptian and Jewish priests found in the Greek traditions similarities to their own, and claimed theirs to be the source of Greek philosophy. A similar process occurred when several Greeks, attracted to Oriental cults, were also willing to accept an Oriental origin for Greek thought. They saw little difference between Greek, Hebraic and Indian philosophy; thinking the Hebraic to be the oldest, they assumed it to be the original.[7] It is during this period that we first hear that

Pythagoras, Plato[8] and other early Greek philosophers took their ideas from Jews and Persian prophets. The Oriental Origin theory is mainly due to Alexandrian writers, from whom it was later incorporated by the Christian apologists, Neopythagoreans, and Neoplatonists.

Meanwhile, exaggerated and fabulous stories about India and Indian ascetics gained in popularity and the centre of eastern mysticism started to shift from Egypt to India.[9] Indian gymnosophists were now added to the long list of Persian Chaldaeans and Egyptian sages. Origen[10] stated that the Indian Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas enjoyed the same status as did the Egyptian sages and the learned Magi of Persia. The Neopythagoreans and the Neoplatonists, who had many reasons to reject all connections with Hebrew and Christian beliefs, emphasised the supremacy of India. They spoke of India as the land of philosophy, an ideal state with the philosophers at the top, who held many beliefs similar to their own.

Lucian (AD 120–80), an Epicurian rhetorician and satirical writer, born at Samosata in Syria, satirised Greek philosophy and religion and alluded that the goddess Philosophy first visited India and from there marched to Ethiopia, afterwards to Egypt, then to other eastern nations and finally to Greece.[11] Accordingly, Ethiopians,[12] Egyptians,[13] Persians[14] and Jews[15] were reported to have gained their philosophical knowledge from the Indians. Travels to India and/or indebtedness to Indian wisdom were ascribed to several classical and Hellenistic philosophers.

Despite extensive contact there was apparently no really sincere effort to understand the depth of Indian philosophy. Nothing is mentioned of translating Indian texts or of schools teaching Indian languages and philosophies. It seems that no Greek had access to the existing documents of the Indian religious and philosophical traditions. Interest was circumscribed by a set of rather stereotyped ideas associated with the strange customs and miraculous powers of Indian ascetics. Human knowledge passed through, to use Comte's words, "a theological or fictitious stage," with an overriding belief in supernatural beings.

An attempt to find a clear resolution of this debate concerning the indigenous or foreign origin of Greek philosophy, was made by the Greek doxographer, Diogenes Laertios (second–third centuries AD). He examined the origin of Greek philosophy and its connection with Oriental philosophies in his classic work *Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers* (Βίοι καὶ γνῶμαι τῶν ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ εὐδοκιμησάντων). Diogenes finally concluded that the origin of Greek philosophy was indigenous because the barbarians were unfamiliar with the real spirit of philosophy.

During the Renaissance we hear even more extreme views. The Orientals are described as having received fragments of high wisdom from the long-lost people of Atlantis. The ancient 'Mochical' and 'Mosaical' phi-

losophies were also said to have been taught to Thales and Pythagoras. By the middle of the eighteenth century, with the advancement of Indological studies in Germany and other European countries, we observe an increased interest in the comparison of Greek and Indian philosophies. Christian Lassen denied all Indian influence on Greek philosophy in pre-Christian times, but accepted its impact upon Christian Gnosticism and Neoplatonism. He believed that the Indian elements in the Gnostic systems were derived from Buddhism. Professor Albrecht Weber[16] tried to associate the Indian conception of 'vāc' (speech, word) with the Greek 'logos' and suggested a possible Indian influence upon Neoplatonism. Sir William Jones pointed out the analogies between the Sāṅkhya system and the Pythagorean philosophy, starting from the name of the Indian system, Sāṅkhya, meaning number, and from the fundamental importance attached to number by Pythagoras. In a further attempt, Sir William Jones tried to see analogies between Greek and Indian philosophical schools: Nyāya seems analogous to the Peripatetic; Vaiśeṣika to the Ionic; Mimāṁsā and Vedānta to the Platonic; Sāṅkhya to the Italic (Eleatic); and Patañjali-Yoga to Stoic philosophy. Leopold von Schroeder published a more elaborated study (*Pythagoras und die Inder*, 1884) in which he claimed that Pythagoras visited and derived his theory from India. He presented the chief features which Pythagoras and the ancient Indians had in common, i.e., the theory of the transmigration of souls, (which he claims Pythagoras cannot have taken from the Egyptians because the ancient Egyptians were not familiar with it); the prohibition of eating beans; the doctrine of the five elements and especially the acceptance of ether as the fifth element; the Pythagorean theorem, developed in the *Śulvasūtras*; the irrational number $\sqrt{2}$; and so on. Schroeder, as before him Sir William Jones, tried to bring the fundamental idea of Pythagorean philosophy (i.e., that number is the essence of all things) into connection with an ancient Sāṅkhya philosophy which he supposed had been lost. John Burnet[17] criticised Schroeder's theory as based on a mistaken view of Pythagoreanism and as involving chronological impossibilities. But he made a similar mistake when he quoted Caesar's statement that the Gallic Druids taught the doctrine of transmigration only to suggest that the doctrine reached India and Greece from the same northern source, namely, the 'Scythian.' E. Zeller claimed that the idea of liberation originated in India but nevertheless held that the Greeks had taken it from Persia. Richard Garbe traced several similarities between Greek and Indian (particularly Sāṅkhya) philosophies. He confessed to being inclined towards the argument for an Indian origin, but he was honest enough to admit that he could not pass an apodictic decision.

Henry Thomas Colebrooke said that Pythagoras derived his philosophy from Indian instructors. He also found analogies between Heraclitos and

Sāṅkhya. Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire contrasted Pythagoras' theory of metempsychosis with the Indian and Egyptian one and found Sāṅkhya ideas in Plato. Macdonell observed that there seems to be a high degree of probability that Pythagoras depended upon Indian philosophy and sciences. He said that the doctrine of metempsychosis in the case of Pythagoras appears without any precedent or explanatory background, and was regarded by the Greeks as of foreign origin. He also suggested that Pythagoras derived it from India and not from Egypt where it was not known. Similar views were expressed by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the founder of the Indian Council for Cultural Relations.[18]

Keith[19] examined in great detail all the supposed affinities between Pythagoras and India and pointed out the following results: (1) there is no historical evidence that Pythagoras travelled to India or that he came in contact with persons that explained Indian philosophy to him; (2) the doctrine of transmigration as held by him can most easily be explained via the religious history of Greece, and in particular by the tenets held by the Orphic societies; (3) the mathematical doctrines of Pythagoras were a direct outcome of his studies and of his knowledge about the Egyptian methods of measurement; (4) the Pythagorean doctrine of the five elements was adopted by his school partly from Empedocles and partly from Pythagoras' own theory of an extra-mundane breath; (5) the Pythagorean philosophy overall shows no real trace of connection with the Sāṅkhya; (6) the tambus and other characteristics of the Pythagorean brotherhood were not borrowed from India but from Greek customs world-wide in character. He concluded that it is impossible to trace the origins of philosophy to India in the face of the evidence presently available.

C.B. Schülter, J.J. Coerres, and Sir William Jones said that Aristotle was influenced by Indian philosophical ideas which were sent to him by Alexander and/or Kallisthenes. L. Mabilleau said that the atomic theory of Leukippos and Democritos was taken from Kaṇāda's *Vaiśeṣikasūtra.* Stephen R. Hill,[20] in the epilogue of his book, expressed wonder about the great number of affinities that exist between the Indian and European traditions in matters related to philology, myths, epics, symbolism, polytheism, cosmologies, epistemology, and philosophical systems. He concluded that since the Vedic tradition is the oldest it must be taken as the root of the European thought. Several other European and Indian scholars continued the old tradition of the Oriental Origin theory which was perpetuated for centuries.[21]

The main considerations involved in these presentations seem to be those of tracing isolated similarities between Greek and Indian doctrines. Despite often being artful interpretations, they are never examined amidst the contextual overview of the philosophical schools in which they appear,

wherein important disparities also occur. They proceed on the assumption that if a Greek doctrine is found to be partly of an Indian tradition it must have been wholly borrowed from India. No author, however, is in a position to know the origin and historical development of the ancient doctrines, which even up to now cannot be fixed with accuracy. The majority of sources have been lost and the ancient Indians seem to have had no interest in keeping historical records. The significance of the above-mentioned pioneering works in the advancement of the comparative studies cannot be undervalued. However, they appear to have been misguided by the comparatively modern tendency to categorise ancient philosophies on the basis that whatever is mythical and mystical must belong to the East, and whatever is scientific and intellectual to the West.

An alternative version was presented by Shahrastānī (1086–1153), an Arab philosopher who claimed that two disciples of Pythagoras, one of whom was Qalānūs, came to India to spread the teachings of his master. An Indian disciple of Qalānūs, named Brāhmaṇan, became the founder of the Brāhmaṇic philosophy.[22] Such a thesis would be equally elusive, for it is well-recognised that from the earliest days the Orient in general, and India in particular, had developed and contributed to humanity various forms of wisdom, as well as important arts and insights.

There is a further necessity to distinguish between what we may call the movement of ideas on the one hand and philosophical understanding on the other. In philosophical understanding what matters is not the land of origin nor the ideas as such, but rather our inner awareness of and attitude towards them. One may repeat the words of another, but his words will remain without vital force as long as he fails to find an inner union or resonance with them. The understanding and experiences of another which come to us in the form of ideas, might be a useful inspiration, but as long as we fail to develop our own understanding, our knowledge is destined to remain superficial. If we understand philosophy not as a mere intellectual process of learning the ideas of others, but as a sincere effort to understand the nature and laws of the physical world; the ideas of the mind and the depths of our personality—then we need not waste time in insignificant disputes in which we claim to be the original or the sole possessor of any given idea. There might appear to be a movement of ideas from one place to another, but there can be no diffusion in true philosophy.

REFERENCES

1. See, for example, Herodotos, II, 109, where he writes that in his opinion geometry was invented in Egypt and brought from there to Greece and that the Greeks learned from the Babylonians certain matters concerning astronomy. Also, Aristotle (*Met.*, A,

I, 981 b 23) speaks of the origin of mathematics in Egypt.

2. "λάβωμεν δὲ ὡς ὅ τί περ ἂν Ἕλληνες βαρβάρων παραλάβωσι, κάλλιον τοῦτο εἰς τέλος ἀπεργάζονται." *Epinomis*, 987 d.
3. G.W.F. Hegel, *Lectures on the Philosophy of World History*, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1975), vol. III, p. 566.
4. "The historical possibility of the Grecian world of thought being influenced by India through the medium of Persia must unquestionably be granted and with it the possibility of the above mentioned ideas being transferred from India to Greece. The connections between the Ionic inhabitants of Asia Minor and those of the countries to the east of it were so various and numerous during the time in question that abundant occasion must have offered itself for the exchange of ideas between the Greeks and the Indians, then living in Persia." Richard Garbe, *The Philosophy of Ancient India*, (Open Court, Chicago, 1899, reprint, Ashutosh Prakashan Sansthan, Varanasi, 1980), p. 37. Similar views were expressed by Theodor Gomperz in *The Greek Thinkers*, [tr. from German by Laurie Magnus, John Murray, London, 1955 (1901)], vol. I, p. 127.
5. *De Gaelo*, II, 14, 298a, 9–15.
6. For an elaborated study on the political and social factors which facilitated the spread of Oriental ideas in the Roman world, see Franz Cumont, *Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism*, [Dover Publ., New York, 1956 (1911)], pp. 20-45.
7. See, for example, Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis*, I, 15.
8. It is Noumenios of Apameia, (second century AD) who asks, "What is Plato but Moses speaking Attic?" ("τί γάρ ἐστι Πλάτων ἢ Μωϋσῆς ἀττικίζων;") Clement, *Stromateis*, I, p. 8, 5. Clement (fr. 13) calls Plato "The philosopher from the Jews." ("ὁ ἐξ Ἑβραίων φιλόσοφος.") The most remarkable attack was made by the Jewish theologian Philo of Alexandria (first century BC–first century AD) who wrote commentaries on the teachings of Moses and endeavoured to prove that the Greek philosophers derived their ideas from the teachings of the Hebrew prophet.
9. For a list of references, see Fernando Tola and Carmen Dragonetti "Indian and Greece from Alexander to August," *GI*, pp. 122–24.
10. *Contra Celsum*, I, 24.
11. *Drapetai* (*Runaways*), 6–8.
12. Philostratos, *Vita Apollonii*, VI, 10–11, 16.
13. Ibid., III, 19.
14. Ammianus Marcellinus (XXIII, 6, 33) informs us that Zoroaster learned the laws regulating the movement of the earth and the stars and the sacrificial rites from the Brāhmaṇas. Ammianus Marcellinus, a Roman soldier born at Antioch in the fourth century AD wrote in Latin a history of Rome from AD 96 to AD 378.
15. Josephus, *Con. App.*, I, 179. Flavius Josephus (b. Jerusalem, AD 37, d. Rome, c. AD 135) wrote several books on the history of the Jews. In his work *Against Appion* (*Contra Appion*) he replies to the Greek grammarian Appion who wrote a treatise against the antiquity of the Jewish race. He traces the origin of the Hebrew philosophy to India. In the *Jewish War*, VII, 351–56, he speaks of the Indian Brāhmaṇas.
16. "Vāch und Logos," *Indische Studien*, (Leipzig, 1865), vol. IX, pp. 473–80.
17. Op. cit., p. 81.
18. *History of Philosophy, Eastern and Western*, Introduction.
19. "Pythagoras and the Doctrine of Transmigration," p. 601.
20. *Concordia: The Roots of European Thought, Comparative Studies in Vedic and Greek Ideas*, (Gerald Duckworth, London, 1992, translated into Greek by Ελένη Τσελέπογλου, *Concordia: Οι Ρίζες της Ευρωπαικής Σκέψης—Συγκριτική Μελέτη Ινδικής και Ελληνικής Φιλοσοφίας*, Εκάτη, Αθήνα, 1996), pp. 219–21.
21. For short reviews and references to the comparative attempts in philosophy by early

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22. See Halbfass, op. cit., p. 28. Alberuni (*Alberuni's India*, vol. I, p. 34) probably mentions the same person under the name 'Galenos'. He says that the Greek philosopher wrote a book called, *Exhortative to the Arts* (*Προτρεπτικὸς εἰς τὰς Τέχνας*) in which he said, "Excellent men have obtained the honour of being reckoned among the deified beings only for the noble spirit in which they cultivated the arts, not for their prowess in wrestling and discus-throwing." Alberuni (op. cit., vol. I, p. 33) also said that the ancient Greeks (viz., Solon of Athens, Bias of Priene, Periander of Corinth, Thales of Miletos, Chilon of Lacedaemonia, Pittacos of Lesbos, Cleobulos of Lindos, and their successors) held nearly the same view as the Hindus in matters concerning the unity of the world, the first cause, and the dream-like nature of the transitory objects. He, however, does not seem to believe in the diffusion of ideas.

APPENDIX 3

Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas in Greek and Indian Literature

In the early Vedic,[1] Jain and Buddhist literature there are numerous references to wandering ascetics known as, Parivrājakas, Yatis, Munis, etc., which indicate that their presence in India goes back to remote antiquity. One of the earliest records of the term 'Śramaṇa'[2] occurs in *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad,*[3] which is clearly pre-Buddhist. The association with 'Tāpasa' (an ascetic), in the Upaniṣad, suggests that the term 'Śramaṇa' was used in reference to the ascetic. The word 'Śramaṇa' occurs more frequently after the expansion of the Buddhist and Jain religions.

The Buddha himself is often called a Samaṇa[4] (Pāli equivalent of the Sk. Śramaṇa) and a similar description has been given to Mahāvīra, whose parents were known as worshippers of Pārśva and followers of the Śramaṇas.[5] The Buddha enumerates four different branches of Samaṇas (viz. Maggajinas, Maggadesakas, Maggajīvins and Maggadūsins),[6] but the number of groups seems to have been much larger, as we hear elsewhere that during his time there existed sixty-two different philosophical schools (diṭṭhi or diṭṭha).[7]

In the *Sāmaññaphala Sutta*, the Buddha explains to King Ajātaśattu the fruits of the life of a Samaṇa by giving him the example of a servant or a landholder who, by becoming a Samaṇa, receives respect and protection by the king himself. The Buddha provides further elucidation of other advantages by elaborating how a householder, hearing the dhamma taught by himself, becomes a homeless Samaṇa out of pure faith; how he becomes established in the three categories of moral purity through right conduct (sīla); how he gets control over his senses and mind; how he achieves the four kinds of knowledge (jñānas); and how he becomes equipped with eight kinds of supernatural knowledge, namely: insight, power of creation by mind, psychic powers, divine hearing, knowledge of the minds of others, knowledge of past lives, divine power of sight, and extinction of moral impurities.

The Samaṇas in Indian literature have almost always been understood as ascetics, but in certain cases, such as that of Kolañña, the Samaṇa king of Kaliṅga,[8] the term seems to have been applied to non-ascetics leading a

saintly life who were therefore well respected by the people. The *Dhammapada,*[9] defines Samaṇa as the person who has totally subdued all evil. In Buddhist texts, the Buddhist monks are also known as Pabbajjakas and Bhikkhus (Bhikṣus). The Brāhmaṇas are described as friends of the hymns and performers of fire sacrifices. The term 'Brāhmaṇa,' however, is often used with the broader meaning of wise man (Arahant), not only to designate a person who claims superiority due to his birth in a particular caste. "He who is thoughtful, blameless, settled, dutiful, without passions, and who has attained the highest end, him I call a Brāhmaṇa."[10] The increasing influence of ascetic ideals on the Brāhmaṇic tradition becomes more evident in the *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad,*[11] where those who follow ceremonial religion are criticised and those who practice austerity and live the life of a mendicant are praised. This twofold distinction between Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas is also mentioned in the inscriptions of Aśoka (R.E. III and XIII), in Jain Aṅgas, and in the early Buddhist texts.

The Greeks derived their knowledge about Indian ascetics from the writings of Megasthenes and indirect sources. Hence, they lacked a clear conception of them and often confused the two groups with the famous gymnosophists. Clement specified that the Indian gymnosophists are of two kinds, the Brahmanae and the Sarmanae.[12] Among the Sarmanae are those who are known as Hylobioi. They do not live in cities and they do not have houses. They make their dress from trees and eat barks and fruits. They drink water with their hands. They do not marry and they do not give birth to children. Therefore, they are known as self-restrained.[13]

Pseudo-Kallisthenes[14] said the Brahman clan is not an order like that of monks (which one could enter if he chose) but a society into which admission was allotted from above by decrees of God. They live very simply, close to nature near the river, and move around naked. They have no quadrupeds, no tillage, no iron, no houses, no fire, no bread, no wine, no implements of labour and nothing which gives pleasure. They pray without ceasing and, while so engaged, instead of looking to the East, direct their eyes steadfastly to heaven without averting their gaze. They subsist on seasonal fruits and on wild lupines that grow uncultivated. They drink water as they roam about the woods and take their repose on the leaves of trees.[15] These customs are similar to those of the Tāvasas, ascetics who lived in the forest and sustained themselves with fruits, bulbs, and roots.

Strabo[16] mentioned a sect of Samaṇas known as Pramnae. They were subdivided into three groups: the Pramnae of the mountains, who wore deer skins and carried pouches filled with roots and drugs and professed to cure disease by means of incantations, charms, and amulets; the Pramnae of the city Pramnae; and the Gymnetae (naked ascetics), who practised endurance for thirty-seven years. They derided the Brāhmaṇas as fools and

impostors because of their devotion to the study of physiology and astronomy.[17] This description contradicts the early Buddhist texts where the Samaṇas and the Brāhmaṇas are described together as wise, religious and well respected men. However, the picture in later times is changed. In the Jātakas,[18] the Brāhmaṇas are described as greedy, ignorant, and immoral, suggesting that there was an actual conflict between the Hindu and the Buddhist ascetics.

Bardesanes,[19] who received his knowledge from an Indian embassy to the Roman emperor, said that the Brāhmaṇas inherited the theology and social status of their parents. The Brāhmaṇas are of one race, all of them claiming their origin from one (common) father and one (common) mother. They are not subject to the king's authority and are exempt from taxes. They are divided into two groups: those who live in the mountains and those who live on the banks of the river Gaṅgā. Both groups are strictly vegetarian, abstaining from eating all kinds of animal flesh which they consider highly impure. They worship the deity with pious reverence and spend their day and a great part of the night chanting hymns and prayers to the gods. Each of them has his own hut and spends as much time as possible in solitude. They have an aversion to social contact and much discourse and therefore often observe silence for many days. They also fast frequently.

The Samaṇas welcomed anyone from any class who wished to devote himself to divine wisdom. The only condition for the initiation of a person into their monastic order was to be considered eligible to wear the Samaṇas' robes by the magistrates of the city or village to which he belonged. Once the Samaṇas shaved off their hair and donned the Samaṇas' robes, marriage and the possession of property were forbidden. If they previously had wives and children they were obliged to leave them in the care of their relatives and the king. They lived in their own monastic communities outside the city where their temples and houses were constructed by the king who provided them with all that they needed. Thus freed from all social responsibility and mundane worry, they could uninterruptedly dedicate the whole of days to discourse on divine topics, to prayers and solitude. Both Brāhmaṇas and Samaṇas were so well respected that even the king would visit them to solicit their prayers when the country was in danger or distress, and request their counsel in times of emergency.[20]

Based on such descriptions, scholars thought that the Śramaṇas were Buddhist monks. But from the whole description concerning their appearance, practices and beliefs we get the picture that the term 'Śrāmaṇa' designated all non-orthodox renunciates. According to the orthodox tradition, only those Brāhmaṇas who had properly fulfilled their social duties were eligible to enter into the fourth stage of life (Saṃnyāsa āśrama).[21] In the unorthodox and heterodox traditions, however, the right to renunciation

was extended to all irrespective of social status, age and gender. Some of the Śramaṇas were unorthodox[22] Brāhmaṇas, others were non-Brāhmaṇa Hindus, while still others were Jains or Buddhists. On ideological and practical grounds the Brāhmaṇas accepted the revelation of the Veda, religious rituals and sacred knowledge (Upaniṣads) while the Śramaṇas challenged Vedic authority and emphasised a set of ethical and ascetic principles.

The Greek sources provide us with some additional information regarding the peculiar attitude of some Indian ascetics towards death. Bardesanes mentioned that both Brāhmaṇas and Samaṇas have such an outlook on death that they endure life unwillingly, as a hard duty exacted by nature, and accelerate the release of their souls from their bodies. They frequently commit suicide to sever the soul from the body in utmost purity. They throw themselves into burning fires even when they are in good health, so that no evil whatever would affect them. Prior to their suicide they informed their friends, who, instead of trying to deter them, rather encouraged them and even requested them to carry messages to their dead relatives. This reflects the depth and clarity of their belief that after death souls meet each other. They weep, but for themselves, as they had to continue to live. They deem fortunate those whose death they had witnessed, because they think they attain immortality.[23] However, Bardesanes observed that no sophist had approached them, (as had so many among the Greeks), to confront them about the implications of their belief, by asking them to consider the state of humanity, should everyone follow their example.

Nikolaos Damaskinos[24] said that he met a group of Indian ambassadors near Antioch. One of these men, named Zarmanochegas, later burned himself to death in Athens. Damaskinos further explained that this had long been practised in India, not only by people escaping from existing problems, but also by those with successful lives, as was the case with this man. Until then he had lived in prosperity and happiness and thought it best to end his life before some unexpected disaster struck. With a smile, therefore, naked, anointed, and with a girdle round his waist, he leapt upon the pyre. On his tomb was this inscription: "Here lies Zarmanochegas, an Indian, a native of Bargose (perhaps the Barygaza or Baroch mentioned in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*), having immortalised himself according to the customs of his country." A similar description was given by Dion Cassius, who said, "One of the Indians, Zarmanos, perhaps to make a show for the Athenians and Augustus, who was then in Athens, resolved to put an end to his life. And having been initiated in the mysteries of the two goddesses (Demeter and Persephone) which were held out of the ordinary course on account of the initiation of Augustus, he committed his living body to the flames."[25] Plutarch[26] said that the Indian's tomb was still visible in his own times.

However, Megasthenes' statement that suicide was considered a foul act and that self-destruction was not a dogma of the philosophers[27] suggests that this practice was not approved by the Indian populace at large. The practice of suicide was condemned by the great majority of the Indian scriptures. No reference to a particular sect practising suicide as a means of release has been recorded in Indian literature.[28] Yet it cannot be denied that this practice was taking place among certain ascetics. There are some isolated and exceptional references in the *Mahābhārata* and Dharmaśāstras which recommend that the ascetics end their lives in one of five ways: fasting, drowning in water, entering into fire, killing themselves by stones, or fighting (in the battlefield).[29] Yājñavalkya, in the *Jābāla Upaniṣad*, had also justified suicide for those not fit to become a recluse (i.e., the non-Brāhmaṇas who desire to purify themselves).

> He may choose a hero's death (by following the path of the warrior in the battlefield), he may fast unto death, throw himself in water or enter fire (agni praveśe) or perform the last journey (walk on unto death).[30]

The Greek references to the suicides of the Samaṇas and the frequent descriptions of their nudity led Haripada Chakraborti[31] and other scholars to conclude that these people were Jains. But this assumption is totally erroneous, because the Jains are strictly against killing, either of oneself or other. Mahāvīra has condemned all kinds of suicide as impure actions.[32]

The Jain canonical texts (Āgamas) describe in great details the various types of death (maraṇa), dividing them into two main groups: the childish or foolish (bāla maraṇa) and the wise (paṇḍita maraṇa). The former includes all deaths which occur under the impact of sensual urges and all forms of suicide, such as falling from a mountain, drowning, gulping poison, killing oneself with a weapon, entering into fire (jvalana maraṇa), etc. The paṇḍita maraṇa is the death of the ideal monk, who through right knowledge has realised the essential freedom of the soul from the physical body and through right action has obtained control over all passions and desires that keep him bound to the world (saṁsāra). In the last stage, the monk is allowed to put an end to all desires, including those responsible for the maintenance of his body. He might die by standing motionless like a tree (pādopagamana maraṇa) or by abstaining from all kinds of food and drink (bhaktapratyākhyāna maraṇa). The monk must be free even from the desire to die and is not allowed to kill himself by external means. "He waits for his last hour without desiring it, in total abstinence from food and drink or in remaining motionless."[33]

In Greece, the ideal of suicide (εὐθανασία) was introduced by Zeno (*c.* 335–263 BC), a merchant of Phoenician origin, who came from the Cition in Cyprus to Athens and founded his philosophical school in the Stoa. Zeno

advocated that a wise man should put an end to his life when he gets old and sick. He demonstrated his faith by practical example, suiciding at the age of seventy. His example was followed by his successor Cleanthes (*c.* 305–230 BC) who fasted to death, and by several other Stoic philosophers. Although the Stoics believed in the final absorption of all souls in the divine fire (ἐκπύρωσις) we do not have any evidence that they suicided by entering fire. The only exception in the Greek literature is that of Hercules who ascended the funeral pyre and became the only hero to have pursued his way up among the immortals (Olympian gods). There are also numerous and contradictory stories about the death of Empedocles, some of which include one or another kind of suicide. The most popular of them says that he leapt into the crater of Etna, in order to disappear without a trace and to leave behind the impression that he was god. As Freeman[34] has suggested, however, these stories owe their origin to the hostile school of biographers, who were combating his admirers' story that he had passed bodily into the company of the immortals. The most objective view is that he died exiled in Peloponnesos.

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1. In the *Ṛgveda* (X, 135,2), the word 'vātaraśana' has been used to designate a group of wandering ascetics who were dressed with yellow and soiled clothes (piśaṅgā vasate malā) and attained the status of gods (yad devāso avikṣataḥ). Haripada Chakraborti [*Asceticism in Ancient India*, (Punthi Pustak, Calcutta, 1973), p. 5] holds the view that the term 'vātaraśana' was used in the sense of "one having the wind as his girdle" i.e. naked. In *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* (II, 7, 1), the term 'vātaraśana' is used as an adjective describing particular sages who were "Śramaṇas and Ūrdhvamanthins." Ibid., pp. 5, 7. Kailash Chand Jain (op. cit., p. 9), has also suggested that the word 'Arhan' in the prayer "Oh Arhan! you fed compassion for this useless world." (*Ṛgveda*, II, 33, 10), was used for a Śramaṇa leader. The *Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa* (XVII, 4, 1–9) and the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (XIV, 7, 1, 22) also show evidence that the peculiar life of the Śramaṇas was known in Vedic India.
2. From the Sanskrit root 'śram' = "to labour," having the meaning of one who works hard for the attainment of his spiritual perfection.
3. "śramaṇo'śramaṇaḥ, tāpaso'tāpasaḥ." *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, IV, 3, 22.
4. For example, "The Samaṇa, the venerable Gotama, the Sakya son, gone out from the family of the Sakyas, wandering about in Aṅguttarāpa with a large assembly of Bhikkhus." *Sutta Nipāta*, Seia Sutta, (SBE, pp. 95, 98).
5. *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*, II, 15, 16.
6. *Sutta Nipāta*, Cunda Sutta, 2.
7. *Brahmajāla Sutta*. For a description of the numerous sects existing at the time of Buddha and Mahavīra in North India, see Jain, op. cit., pp. 176–87.
8. *Milindapañha*, IV, 6,49.
9. "Samitattā pāpānaṁ 'samaṇo' ti pavuccati." XIX, 265.
10. *Dhammapada*, XXVI, 386.
11. I,2.

12. For different readings, see Strabo, XV, 1, 59: 'Γερμᾶνας' and 'Γαρμᾶνας' (perhaps an erroneous transcription or an identification with the people of Carmania); Clement, *Stomateis*, III, 194: 'Σεμνοί,' (modest men); Strabo, XV, 1, 60, and Clement, *Stromateis*, I: Σαρμᾶναι; Bardesanes (Porphyrios, *Abstinen.*, IV, 17), Alexander Polyhistor, *Cyril contra Julian*, II, p. 133, and Hieronymos, *ad Jovinian*, II, 206: 'Σαμαναῖοι.'
13. "Ἰνδῶν τε οἱ γυμνοσοφισταί, ἄλλοι γε φιλόσοφοι βάρβαροι. διττὸν δὲ τούτων τὸ γένος, οἳ μὲν Σαρμᾶναι αὐτῶν, οἳ δὲ Βραχμᾶναι καλούμενοι. καὶ τῶν Σαρμανῶν οἱ ὑλόβιοι προσαγορευόμενοι οὔτε στέγας ἔχουσιν, δένδρων δὲ ἀμφιέννυνται φλοιοῖς καὶ ἀκρόδρυα σιτοῦνται καὶ ὕδωρ ταῖς χερσὶ πίνουσιν, οὐ γάμον, οὐ παιδοποιίαν ἴσασιν, ὥσπερ οἱ νῦν Ἐγκρατηταί καλούμενοι." *Stromateis*, I, 15, 41–46.
14. Pseudo-Kallisthenes, (III, 7), said that he visited, along with Moses, the Bishop of Adule, the Akroteria of India and experienced its burning heat, but he was unable to meet with the Brāhmaṇas who were dwelling far away near the River Ganga. He attributed his description to an unnamed Theban scholar.
15. Ibid., III, 9.
16. XV, I, 70.
17. Compare with the contempt of the gymnosophists against the intellectual practices of the Greek sophists, as it has been described in the dialogue of Dandamis with Onesicritos.
18. *Sigāla Jātaka*, (no. 113); *Juṇha Jātaka*, (no. 456); *Sambhava Jātaka*, (no. 515).
19. Porphyrios, *De Abstinentia*, IV, 17–18.
20. Hieronymos (commonly known as Saint Jerome, *c.* AD 340–420) gave similar descriptions concerning their vegetarianism and the honour they received from the king and attributes the division of gymnosophists into two sects (viz., Brāhmaṇas and Samaṇas) to Bardesanes. *Adv. Jovin.*, II, 14.
21. Cf. *Manu Smṛti*, VI, 33–37; *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad*, I, 2, 12.
22. A few Dharmasūtras permitted renunciation before the completion of the three previous stages of life. See *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra*, II, 10, 1–7; *Vasiṣṭha Dharmaśāstra*, VII, 3; *Āpastamba*, II, 9, 8; *Atharvaveda*, XI, 5, 12. Vyāsa's son, Śuka, renounces the world even before the sacred thread ceremony. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, 1, II, 2. In *Jābāla Upaniṣad*, 4, of the *Atharvaveda*, Yājñavalkya explains to King Janaka that both, gradual and immediate renunciation are possible. Yājñavalkya says: "After completing the life of a student, let one become a householder; after completing the life of a householder let one become a forest dweller; after completing the life of a forest dweller, let one renounce, otherwise (if a suitable occasion arises) let one renounce even from the state of a student or from the state of a householder or from that of a forest dweller. Whether one has not completed the injunctions or completed the injunctions, whether he is a student or not, even if he has not completed the sacrificial rites, on whatever day he has the spirit of renunciation, that very day let him renounce (and become a recluse)." (Radhakrishnan's translation.)
23. Clement of Alexandria, (*Stromateis*, III, 194), said that Alexander Polyhistor holds the opinion that the despise of death was due to a belief in rebirth, but from the description of the whole ceremony it appears that the central belief was that the soul of the burned man was purified and attained its final freedom. Promponius Mela (III, 7, 40) echoed Herodotos, by saying that the old and diseased go far away from others and await death without anxiety. But he also added that the wisest do not wait for the glory to accrue but gladly invite death by casting themselves onto a burning pyre.
24. Quoted in Strabo, XV, 1, 4, 73.
25. *Hist. Rom.*, IX, 58. Lassen takes the name 'Zarmanochegas' to represent the Sanskrit 'Śramaṇācārya' (teacher of the Śramaṇas) implying that the Indian was a philosopher, perhaps due to the phonetic similarity between Zarmanos and Garmanos (which

stands for Samanos in Strabo). Cf. John W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as Described by Arrian Q. Curtius, Diodoros, Plutarch, and Justin*, (reprint, Eastern Book House, Patna, 1989), p. 389.

26. "Many years after (the self-sacrifice of Calanos), another Indian did the same, before Augustus Caesar at Athens, whose tomb is shown to this day, and called 'the Indian's tomb.'" *Life of Alexander*, LXIX.
27. Fr. XLIV, (Strabo, XV, I. 68).
28. The suicide of Purāṇa Kassapa is most probably based on a defamatory legend of Buddhaghoṣa. See *Sumaṅgala Vilāsinī*, I, p. 142.
29. See Chakraborti, op. cit., pp. 77–78.
30. *Jābāla Upaniṣad*, 5. Cf. *Kaṇṭhaśruti*, 4.
31. Op. cit., p. 79.
32. Cf. "A monk or nun should not ease nature in a place where suicide is committed, or where (those who desire to end their life) expose their body to vultures, or precipitate themselves from rocks, or trees, or eat poison, or enter fire." *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*, II, 10, 13.
33. *Kalpa Sūtra*, 51, (SBE, vol. XXII). For a detailed account on the Jain approach to death, see S. Settar, *Pursuing Death*, Institute of Indian Art History, Karnatak University, Dharwad, 1990.
34. Op. cit., p. 176.

APPENDIX 4

Philosophical Review

"EUDAEMONISTIC TRENDS IN INDIAN PHILOSOPHY" BY MILTIADES SPYROU*

Spyrou posits a thesis relevant to the need of a clarification of the human nature both as it is manifested in the concrete existential situation and also as it is sought to be realised in its ultimatiness. It is the contention of this scholar that human activity in all its manifestations (i.e., physical, intellectual, and spiritual) revolves around the axis of an intrinsic impulse for pleasure and happiness. The Greek term "eudaimonia" is used here for the entire domain of this human dimension, but also to denote a positive optimistic, world-affirming, life-loving attitude on the part of the individual which also includes the desire for long life and immortality.

In the introduction of his thesis, Spyrou extensively explores the relevant concept under the main headings, "Is Indian Philosophy Pessimistic?" and "Is Indian Philosophy Eudaemonistic?" and strives against the one-sided idealistic way in which the spirit of Indian philosophy has been presented by previous scholars in India and in West. He desires to discuss one of the least conspicuous aspects of Indian philosophy in order to show both its importance and its prominent position in all the Indian schools of thought. He illustrates a dimension that has either escaped the attention of most moral philosophers or was willingly overlooked.

In the main body of his dissertation, Spyrou searches to find eudaemonistic trends in each Indian philosophical school separately. These include: the hedonist Cārvāka, the realistic dualism of Sāṅkhya, the practical way of Yoga, the logic and epistemology of Nyāya, the metaphysics and ontology of Vaiśeṣika, the realistic and relativistic pluralism of Jain philosophy, the pluralistic realism of Mīmāṁsā, the monistic idealism of Vedānta (which he limits in the exploration of Advaita Vedānta), and the moral teachings of Buddhism [where the author claims a correct understanding of the fundamental concept of 'Dukkha' (suffering) that refutes the basis of a pessimistic, other-worldly, and life-negating mis-orientation].

*Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the Banaras Hindu University.

Spyrou concludes that the presentation of Indian philosophy by western scholars does not do justice to the spirit of it. He finds in each school that Indian philosophers' preoccupation with pain is only initial. It comes as a problem of and hindrance to the unfolding of the individual's real nature, which, by all schools is conceived as being alien to pain. Spyrou distinguishes between the pain conceived by ordinary people as an experience compared to pleasure and that which he calls 'philosophical pain'—the dissatisfaction with everything finite, impermanent, impure and imperfect. Instead of condemning the basically hedonistic nature of man, this tendency is seen as the basis on which the 'Golden Rule' for the behaviour of man towards his fellow creatures develops.

It was also interesting to find out that most of what appears to be an attack on pleasures and desires is in fact a fine analysis of these states and a careful distinction from attachment. This recognition led the Indian philosophers to the discovery of the detachment which was subsequently offered to humanity as a panacea for every pain and as a secure way to real happiness.

Another important conclusion is the establishment of a universal causal relation between virtue and happiness which was accepted by all the schools of thought. Indian philosophy, consequently is there-in conceived as positive in its character and inspiring to the individual. Desires, pleasure, happiness, and absolute bliss were originally well defined and given their true importance in the Indian philosophical texts. The analysis of the blissful state has shown that it is characterised by the absolute absence of pain, infinite peace, perfection, and tranquillity. It is a state which is agreeable because one rests in complete harmony with one's true nature (Ātmasantoṣa).

Spyrou's pioneering thesis is an outstanding example of a sincere thorough work that will be appreciated not only by scholars interested in Indian philosophy and religion, but also by those who are searching to find solutions to corporeal, ideological, and psychological conflicts in other parts of the world.

"THE PHILOSOPHY OF ADVAITA AS EXPOUNDED IN THE SVĀRĀJYA-SIDDHI OF GAṄGĀDHARENDRA SARASVATĪ" BY THEODORE GEORGE BITOS*

Bitos' thesis is divided into two parts. The first includes, an introduction, a concept-wise exposition of Advaita philosophy in six chapters (viz., Nature of Ultimate Reality, Nescience, Superimposition, Jīva-Īśvara and Sākṣī, the World, and Liberation and the Means thereof), and an evaluation of Gaṅgādharendra Sarasvatī's contribution to Advaita. The second part

*Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Madras.

consists of the Sanskrit text, an English translation, expository notes for each śloka independently, appendices, and bibliography.

In the introduction of his thesis, Bitos explains that there is almost no written evidence about the life of Ācārya Gaṅgādharendra Sarasvatī, the author of the *Svārājya-Siddhī;* and his work is rarely mentioned in the subsequent Advaita literature. By evaluating the available information, he fixes or adopts the date AD 1826 as the time when this work was finished. The *Svārājya-Siddhī* is probably the latest of the six main treatises in the so-called siddhī-literature of Advaita. The earliest of these are the *Brahma-Siddhī* of Maṇḍana Miśra, the *Naiṣkarmya Siddhī* of Sureśvara, the *Iṣṭa Siddhī* of Vimuktātman, the *Advaita Siddhī* of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī and the *Advaita-Brahma-Siddhī* of Sadānanda.

Svārājya-Siddhī literally means 'Knowledge of the Self-luminous Consciousness.' The text that imparts the knowledge of the self-luminous consciousness is figuratively spoken of as *Svārājya-Siddhī*. In the fourth śloka of the first chapter, Gaṅgādharendra Sarasvatī says that this work is composed for those who desire liberation (mumukṣūṇām), while in the end of the same chapter, he refers to scriptures as the means that make the ignorants remain in their true nature (svātmarājye abhiṣektum).

Bitos finds that the dialectical method adopted in the *Svārājya-Siddhī* is close to the Platonic and Kantian method. But he warns us to be careful while examining the epistemology of an ancient system using our western philosophical patterns. Comparing Gaṅgādharendra's dialectics with those of the Greeks, he writes:

> The whole dialectical scheme through which the author approaches the views and arguments of the opponents is a very loose form of the actual dialectic as understood in the Socratic-Platonic context, that is, of a compact inductive method that proceeds through repeated thesis antithesis to a final conclusion or synthesis from which again through the deductive method we descend to particular logical investigations in order to start again, with the use of the previous results, further dialectical processes.

The six chapters in the first part as well as the expository notes in the second part deal with the general doctrines of Advaita, propounded as against the views of other schools. Additionally, they refer to particular development of selected philosophical issues as elaborated by different Advaita preceptors of the post-Śaṅkara period. The exposition is based on Gaṅgādharendra Sarasvatī's treatment of each respective concept as it has been expounded in the *Svārājya-Siddhī* with its commentary *Kaivalya-Kalpadruma*.

In evaluating Gaṅgādharendra Sarasvatī's contribution to Advaita, Bitos says that although the significance of his work has not received its due appreciation in contemporary Advaita literature, the *Svārājya-Siddhī* is a

very popular text among traditional Paṇḍits. The combination of philosophical intensity-cum-brevity, with the matchless poetical beauty of the verses, has been a source of reference for the traditional Advaita speakers, especially in South India. The brief revision of the text shows the author's actual position in respect of minor doctrinal differences pertaining among the views of Advaita preceptors. Sureśvara has explained that these differences serve the purpose of helping various kinds of aspirants in better understanding the non-dual nature of ultimate reality which constitutes the main target of all Advaita teachings. When viewed in this light, the *Svārājya-Siddhī* is a valuable manual and probably the last in the long line of Advaitic treatises, wherein the views of nearly all the preceptors are discussed with.

In translating the text, Bitos tried to obviate the difficulties that such a concise verse format presents, by steering a middle course between poetical brevity and philosophical precision. Though the latter requires a periphrastic analysis, he remained faithful to the liberal and concise poetical form, even at times sacrificing easy clarity for the sake of capturing the ardent enthusiasm and simplicity which obviously prevails in the text. To illustrate Bitos' translation of the Sanskrit text into prosaic simple English, the following translation of the first verse from the chapter on superimposition (adhyāropaprakaraṇam) is given:

> May our darkness of illusion be removed by Lord Śiva whose image is of supreme bliss, who (wears) the moon on (His) head, and who, by (His) playful side glances pleases those people who bow (to Him). He looks smiling at (Pārvatī) the daughter of the mountains as she embraces (Him), she being afraid of the Lord-of-the serpents loosened from (His) matted hair that is shaken by the flow of the Gaṅgā.

"PLATO AND UPANISHADS" BY DR. VASSILIS VITSAXIS*

Vitsaxis argues persuasively that the aim of the book is not to search for influences which can not be proved, but rather to show how the great thinkers of humanity could came to reach similar realisations though they walked on different paths. According to him, conclusions (about mutual influences) of previous scholars who attempted comparative studies in the same subject are of limited and relative value. This, he explains, is because Greek and Indian philosophies are not one-sided (monolithic). Each one has its own range of characteristics which become more evident when each tradition is seen in its totality. Moreover, the inseparable connection between religion and philosophy which characterises Indian thought does not occur in Greece where philosophy is predominantly intellectual. The inward search

*A non-degree research published in India and Greece, translated into Swedish and Korean (1989), Serbo-Croatian (1990), and Romanian (1991).

for the Absolute which is frequently portrayed as the hallmark of Indian philosophy is in direct contradiction to the Greek tenant of non-refutation of the reality of the external world. Plato, however, who has been described as "heretic" and "non-Hellenic" by several scholars, was in the author's eyes, an exception. He was influenced by the mystical teachings of the Orphics and Pythagoras and one finds in his teachings both religious and logical tendencies, a fact that brings Plato nearer to the Indians and the Upaniṣads.

The first chapter of his book contains common points in modes and methods. Both traditions make use of dialogues and their language is often poetic and mythical. In Platonic work, Socrates is the main protagonist, while in the Upaniṣads there are many and sometimes even gods like Prajāpati (*Chāndogya Upaniṣad*) and Yama (*Kaṭha Upaniṣad*) are found to participate in philosophical discussions. The dialectics of the Greeks are more rational than those of the Indians, who are inclined towards mysticism, but both realise the inability of logic to perceive the highest truths. Illustrations shared by both include the representations of the soul as a chariot; the ignorant as a sleeping person and the light and sun as symbols of the divine.

In the second chapter the author presents common points in their overall approaches. With the works of Plato, Greek philosophy changes its focus from ontological to epistemological problems. The ancient Delphic maxim "Know Thyself" becomes the basis of Platonic contemplation. The naturalistic tendency of the pre-Socratic philosophers which finds its best expression in the question "what is?" is replaced with the question "who am I?" Similar directions are found throughout the Upaniṣadic texts where the final goal is the experience of the Self (Ātman, Brahman). The identity of the individual soul with the Supreme Reality which is expressed in the great saying, 'Tat tvam asi' (That thou art) does not find parallel in Plato who maintains the plurality of the souls, "like the stars in the sky." Nevertheless, both recognise an internal connection between man and the Eternal and Plato emphasises the thirstiness of the soul to become similar to the Eternal.

The Supreme Being which in several Platonic dialogues is presented as a person, the Creator or the Architect of the universe, finds parallels with the Saguṇa Brahman and Īśvara of the Upaniṣads. This personification and endowment with qualities are merely linguistic expressions for Vitsaxis. The Real Being (Gr. On, Sk. Brahman) is impersonal, absolute, infinite, transcendental, inconceivable, unexpressed and unqualified. The path towards the realisation of the 'One' is inward and the knowledge we gain from sensual experiences does not lead us to the Truth. Both approaches divide knowledge into two kinds, the lower (doxa, parā vidyā) and the

higher (episteme, aparā vidyā). Like the two horses of the Platonic chariot, those who follow the path of the pleasant (preya) are bound in the world of the shadows and illusion (māyā) while those who follow the good (śreya) are led to that which is eternal, stable, changeless, and true. One finds in Plato, however, a tendency to accept the utility of the objects of the external world as gross images of the Real, far more prevalent than in the Upaniṣads. As words fail to describe the Absolute, both use negative descriptions to define what 'God is not' and not what 'He is.' In both, the Absolute is experienced in silence where the division between the knower and the known is abolished.

The third chapter contains common points on specific subjects. The Platonic 'Nous' and the Upaniṣadic 'Ātman' are essentially the same. Both are divine, transcendental and eternal. Nous, however, is only the higher part of the soul. The soul comprises also the desires for the external objects which come to an end with death and Nous alone remains with its tendency towards the perfect, the beautiful and the good. In this perspective, the soul is imprisoned in the physical body and needs to purify itself in order to realise eternal ideas. Similarly, the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* describes the Self as constituted of five kośas arranged in gradation from the gross material to the highest bliss. One needs to progressively remove the lower and denser sheaths like the husk of rice in order to realise the highest.

The attainment of the highest goal, which for Plato is to become similar with the divine and for the Upaniṣadic seers is the realisation of the existing unity between individual soul and Absolute, requires true knowledge which develops through contemplation and abstinence from the sensual experiences. The entire life of the philosopher, Plato says, must be devoted to study and preparation for death. Similarly, Yama (*Kaṭha Upaniṣad*) reveals the mystery of death to young Naciketa only when the latter proves himself detached from the desires for worldly enjoyment. Plato conceives the objects of the world as reflections of self-existing, eternal ideas while the Upaniṣads see them as different forms of one homogeneous reality. The illustration of the gold-made items which change form but remain always in their essence gold is common to Plato and Śaṅkara, the great commentator of the Upaniṣads.

The belief in reincarnation is a fundamental dogma in both traditions. The similarities are not limited to general observations but are extended to moral and motivational factors. According to Plato, the nature of the future embodiment is conditioned by destiny (moira) and previous actions, but the wise have the freedom to choose the best of many possible lives (Καὶ τελευταίῳ ἐπιόντι, ξὺν νῷ ἑλομένῳ, συντόνως ζῶντι κεῖται βίος ἀγαπητὸς οὐ κακός). Similarly, reincarnation in the Upaniṣads is conditioned by the

Law of Karma. The fall into lower forms of existence is possible in both traditions.

The three qualities or elements of the soul viz. Epithymiton, Thymoeides and Logisticon correspond to the three guṇas of Prakṛti in Sāṅkhya. The division of the society in classes—Phylakes (Brāhmaṇas), Polemistes (Kṣatriyas) and Technites (Vaiśyas)—is natural and acquired by birth but Plato also says that from a gold-made father, a silver-made son might be born and from a silver-made father, a gold-made son could be born. Finally, the Platonic ideal of justice finds its counterpart in the Upaniṣadic 'Dharma,' and Eros in Yājñavalkya's statement, "Verily, not for the sake of the husband is the husband dear but a husband is dear for the sake of the Self."

In a few places, Vitsaxis refers to the dualistic views of Plato which he briefly compares with Sāṅkhya and the qualified non-dualism of the Viśiṣṭa Advaita. His interpretation of the Upaniṣads is clearly influenced by the monistic idealism (Advaita Vedānta) of Śaṅkara, Mahadevan and Radhakrishnan; even so, it is a lively thought-provoking account that strikes with its clear thought and logical presentation.

"A CRITICAL AND COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE PRESOCRATIC GREEK AND ANCIENT INDIAN PHILOSOPHIES" BY DEMETRIOS TH. VASSILIADES*

A few hundred years ago, when the texts and data on Oriental philosophies were not accessible, the idea that Greece was the motherland of philosophy was accepted in Europe as a matter of course. It has been said that scientific thought and philosophical clarity began in Greece and that the Indian philosophy has been inseparably connected to religion. The present thesis examines the extent of the truth of this proposition by comparing some fundamental features of the Presocratic Greek and ancient Indian philosophies. The selected topics have been divided according to their context into eight chapters.

The first chapter forms the introduction of the thesis and is subdivided into two parts. (I) The Meaning and the Significance of the Work elucidates: (1) *Why Philosophical Comparison?* There is a need for a cross-cultural comparison of philosophical ideas in the present world wherein the rapid growth of information has required an unprecedented level of integration. In this context, the comparison between Presocratic Greek and ancient Indian philosophies is of a special importance as it offers us an easily recognisable paradigm of the spiritual and intellectual relations between the early Greek and Indian cultures which laid the foundation stones of the occidental and oriental philosophies respectively. (2) *Meth-*

*Abstract of a thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the Banaras Hindu University.

odological Considerations. Cross-cultural comparisons often involve false analogies and superficial equalisations, hence, care has been taken to avoid oversimplification and transhistorical comparisons that could prove misleading in the absence of a historical perspective for Indian philosophy. Fruitful results can be attained only when we confront the philosophical structures of the concerned traditions with open minds, mutual respect and readiness to understand and appreciate the problems that are being faced within them. (3) *Meaning and Limitations*. The original meaning of the term 'philosophy' is suitable enough to define both Presocratic Greek and ancient Indian enquiries towards truth. Under the category of 'ancient Indian philosophy,' I cover all philosophy that originated on the Indian subcontinent between the Upaniṣadic period and the time of Buddha. By the term 'Presocratic Greek philosophy' I mean the philosophies developed by Greek thinkers in Asia Minor, Magna Grecia and Mainland Greece from the time of Thales up to the time of Socrates. (II) About the Sources. Briefly mentioned are some of the most important works of the Presocratic Greek and ancient Indian philosophers that have been preserved and handed down to us through written and oral traditions. Also included are some references to classical and contemporary comparative attempts.

The second chapter, 'The Background of Philosophical Speculation', is subdivided into three parts: (I) The Dawn of Philosophy, examines the social, political, religious, and ideological factors that differentiated the origin and growth of the Greek and Indian philosophies. The attainment of the philosophical attitude was achieved through different methods and consequently pursued different directions. It also includes a review on the Oriental origin theory. (II) How the Ancients Understood Philosophy. For the modern man philosophy is a specific discipline with its own method and problems but for the ancients philosophy was the source of all sciences and arts, the foundation for all religious and social duties. Greeks and Indians re-examined their traditional conceptions and produced scientific, social, and spiritual philosophies. (III) Who were the Philosophers? In Greek society all free citizens had the right to study the religious texts and to contribute to the welfare of the city-state. A man of knowledge (sophos) was concerned with the urgent issues of his time and generally did not dissociate himself from the city and the world. The Indian philosophers were subdivided into two main groups—the orthodox (Brāhmaṇas) and the unorthodox (Śramaṇas). The former originally were Brāhmaṇas priests who emphasised the necessity of religious rituals and demanded strict obedience to and faith in the scriptures. During the Upaniṣadic period some Kṣatriya kings rose to the superior stage of the wise man and teacher. The group called Śramaṇas included Materialists, Buddhists, Jains, and several

other independent heterodox teachers. They initiated in their societies people from all castes.

In the third chapter, 'Theological and Cosmological Speculations', I examine some metaphysical problems concerning the nature and function of the world. These include: (I) The Cosmic Law. In Greek philosophy, the law was associated with the impersonal cosmic mind, the logos, justice and the law of righteousness which even the gods could not break. In like manner, the Vedic 'Ṛta' denoted the physical order of the universe but gradually became associated with the moral law to be obeyed by men and gods. The Vedic conception did not last for long and in the Upaniṣads its function is overtaken by Brahman and Īśvara. (II) Theistic and Atheistic Views. Both Greek and Indian people believed in the existence of many gods and goddesses who were associated with natural phenomena. However, not all the people believed in Gods and atheistic tendencies and doubts have been present since the earliest days. (III) Speculations about the World. This includes views concerning the existence of temporal and spatial infinite worlds, the cyclic procession of time, the structure of the earth and the planetary system, pluralistic beliefs, the atomic theories of Democritos and Jains, the dualistic philosophy of Sāṅkhya, and the Pythagorean theory of numbers.

The fourth chapter deals with 'The Search for an Integral Identity'. The development of the conception of the Supreme Reality as an eternal, independent and absolute reality is examined through three different approaches: (I) The Theistic Approach, which includes henotheistic, monotheistic, and pantheistic tendencies. (II) The Naturalistic Approach, which explains the unity of the multiplicity by reducing the objects of the world to one fundamental principle. (III) The Ontological Approach, which supports the unity or non-differentiation between matter and spirit (Helozoism). It is best elucidated in the intelligent Fire of Heraclitos, in the Being of Parmenides, and in the Ātman-Brahman monistic teachings of the Upaniṣads.

The fifth chapter, 'Human Existence', incorporates: (I) Pluralistic, monistic, and materialistic conceptions about the Nature of Soul, the Pythagorean conception of soul as harmony, the Buddhist negation, and views about the structure of human body. (II) Popular beliefs about the Destiny of Man After Death with special emphasis on the doctrine of reincarnation. (III) The Greek and Indian advocates of the doctrine of reincarnation believed that the process of rebirth comes to an end when man purifies or realises his real nature. In the stage of the final Emancipation man is liberated from all suffering and experiences infinite bliss. (IV) The Deified Self is experienced when man realises during his life the divine nature of his soul and becomes like or one with god.

The sixth chapter deals with 'The Problem of Knowledge'. I discuss: (I)

Nature, Kinds, and Sources of Knowledge. For Parmenides and the seers of the Upaniṣads all knowledge is comprised within the one being. The Indians distinguished two kinds of knowledge—the higher (parā) and the lower (aparā) while the Greeks made a division between intuition and intellectual knowledge. The Orthodox Brāhmaṇas and the Jains believed that the eternal knowledge reveals itself through numerous sages, while the Cārvākas recognised perception as the only means for valid knowledge and rejected all authorities and scriptures. In Greece, all or almost all the early philosophers spoke like mystics. They presented themselves as the chosen ones who had a divine revelation through the grace of gods. (II) Knowledge of the Supreme Reality. The general teaching of the Upaniṣads admits that Soul and Brahman are indescribable and beyond the categories of mind, but there are few statements which claim that the knowledge of the supreme reality is possible through direct intuition. The Jains advanced the theory of relativity of knowledge (syādvāda) while the Buddhists dismissed all questions regarding metaphysical problems. In Greece we meet with two currents of thought. The Pythagoreans and Heraclitos considered that self-knowledge is possible for all, but Xenophanes, Anaxagoras, and the Athenian Sophists pointed out that the knowledge of the objective reality is impossible. (III) Dialectics and Tolerance. Both Greeks and Indians made philosophical progress possible through rational investigation and dialectics. However, ideological antagonism often led to dogmatism which became the main cause of conflict between their respective philosophical and religious thinkers.

In the seventh chapter, 'Ethical Values and Practical Disciplines, some moral standards and values are examined: (I) Justice and the Problem of Evil. With the beginning of the Upaniṣads and onwards the ethical attention is directed towards internal discipline, austerity, and renunciation. A metaphysical and ethical conception of justice was closely connected with the doctrine of the ethical retribution of action. In the *Iliad*, the otherwise unaccountable events of life, failures and rewards, pains and pleasures, diseases and death were attributed to fate or some particular god, but with the rise of philosophy man becomes fully responsible for the ills and evils he faces. The Greek states established democratic constitutions and facilitated the development of new laws which supported equality and justice. (II) Not all the Greeks and Indians had a positive view of life and both presented Pessimistic and Eudaemonistic Views. (III) Practical Disciplines. The orthodox Brāhmaṇas proclaimed three stages of life which emphasised study, procreation, and austerities. But in the unorthodox traditions the right of renunciation was extended to all irrespective of social status, age, and sex. Likewise, the admission into Pythagorean society was open to all without discriminations as to gender and social status. (IV) Caste System

and Slavery. The Āryan society was divided into four different classes or castes. The strongest opposition against the caste system came from the heterodox schools. In Greece everyone was theoretically free to choose his occupation but in praxis there existed several craft clans. Slavery was a common custom in both countries. (V) The Position of Women. Both Greek and Indian societies were patriarchal and did not leave much scope for women to be involved in matters related to philosophy. The sole exemption was the Pythagorean society where several learned women played a significant role in the development of the ethics of the household.

The last chapter, 'Conclusions and Reflections', presents some general evaluations on the two traditions and their principles. (I) Speculations about the Origin of Philosophy. Although it would be folly to dismiss the importance of the social and political circumstances that gave rise to Ionian philosophy, comparisons with the Indian philosophical thought show that they can not be taken as complete explanations. (II) Similarities and Differences. The earliest philosophical speculations in Greece and India were characterised with the rise of a set of similar questions. However, Ancient Indian philosophy is neither exactly the same nor absolutely different from Greek philosophy. There are indeed differences which we cannot ignore but there are also equally significant similarities. (III) Renunciation and Society. Both Greeks and Indians were strongly concerned with the welfare of their societies. But while in India the hot climate, the vast jungles, and the religious structure of society facilitated the growth and systematisation of ascetic ideals, the Greeks discouraged all forms of withdrawal as a sign of misanthropy and lack of communal spirit. (IV) The Ethical Implications of the Law of Karma. The law of karma concerns itself with the subjective interpretation of moral action, and less with the social morality while the deterministic power of nature or God minimise man's responsibility and individual freedom. (V) Ancient Philosophies and the Contemporary World. The present thesis shows that the western scholars, who had excluded Indian philosophy from the history of philosophy, basically ignored the fact that ancient Indian philosophy is closely similar to the Presocratic Greek. Each philosophy has made its own contribution to a particular group of people and as such has enriched human experience and world civilisation.

A Comparative Chronological Chart

Date BC	*Greece*	*Date BC*	*Middle East*	*Date BC*	*India*
1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*
4000–1500	Aegean Civilisation	4000–500	Egypt and Mesopotamia	4000–2000	Sindhu Valley Civilisation
2600–1580	Minoan Civilisation, Beginning of Linear A	2000–1750	Old Babylonian literature	2000–800	Early Vedic hymns
1580–1100	Mycenae, Linear B	1400	Mitānni tablets		
		1300	Destruction of Boghazköi, Ugarit, and Alalakh		
850	Introduction of alphabetic writing	800	Early Gāthās of the Avesta	800	Pārśvanātha, Beginning of the Brāhmaṇa period
760	Homer, Orphic and Apollonian religions	8th cent.	Early Prophets of Israel	800–400	Early Upaniṣads
725	Hesiod	7th cent.	Zoroaster, Magi		
639–559	Solon	625	Deutero-nomy		
585	Date of Thales' eclipse	580	Ezekiel	600–400	Epics
610–547	Anaximander	570	Daniel	600	Early Sāṅkhya
586–526	Anaximenes	558–530	Cyrus	590–520	Mahāvīra
568–493	Pythagoras	546/5	The capture of Sardeis by Cyrus		
b. c. 570	Xenophanes	538	The capture of Babylon by Cyrus	565–485	Buddha
549–486	Hecataeos	521–486	Darius I, king of Persia	517	Naval expedition of Scylax
544–478	Heraclitos			*c.* 510	Expedition of Darius to the Indus Valley

1	2	3	4	5	6
525–456	Aeschylos	494	Destruction of Miletos	d. 493	Gosāla
522–433	Pindar				
b. c. 515	Parmenides				
fl.470	Empedocles	486–465	Xerxes I, king of Persia	c.500–AD 200	Manu Smṛti
500–427	Anaxagoras				
496–406	Sophocles				
485–406	Euripides			485	First Buddhist Council
485–425	Herodotos				
480–479	Indian troops in Thermopylae and Plataiae				
470–399	Socrates				
450–385	Aristophanes				
fl. 440–380	Protagoras, Sophists	465–424	Artaxerxes I, king of Persia		
460–370	Democritos				
428–347	Plato	424–394	Darius II, king of Persia	400–200	Middle Upaniṣads
390–310	Heraclides of Pontos	405–379	Ctesias in the courts of Darius II and Artaxerxes II	c.400	Pāṇini
390–324	Lycourgos of Athens				
384–322	Aristotle			327	Campaign of Alexander in India
365–275	Pyrrho			322–300	Reign of Candragupta
335–263	Zeno the Stoic			c.302	Megasthenes in the court of Candragupta
				c. 300	Beginning of the Sūtra period
				c.300	Cāṇakya Kauṭilya
283–246	Ptolemaios II Philadelphos of Egypt			274–237	Reign of Aśoka
260–246	Antiochos II Theos of Syria			241	Third Buddhist Council
2nd cent.	Apollodoros			c. 180	Demetrios I
146	Rome expands to Greece			170–145	Eukratides
135–51	Poseidonios of Apameia			c. 150	Patañjali, Puṣyamitra
106–43	Cicero			c.120	Menander

1	2	3	4	5	6
fl. c.50	Alexander Polyhistor			c.90	Besnagar Pillar erected by Heliodoros
54–24	Strabo				
1st cent.–AD 1st cent.	Nikolaos Damaskinos			c.25	End of the Indo-Greek kingdoms

Date AD	*Greece*	*Date* AD	*Middle East*	*Date* AD	*India*
1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*
3–65	Seneca			c.44	Apollonios' journey to Taxila
fl.30–40	Philo of Alexandria				
23–79	Pliny				
40–111	Dion of Prusa				
46–126	Plutarch			c.80	Schism of the Digambaras
95–175	Arrian				
2nd cent.	Lucian			2nd cent.	Nāgārjuna
2nd cent.	Aelian				
121–80	Marcus Aurelius				
154–222	Clement of Alexandria				
2nd cent.	Diogenes Laertios				
2nd cent.	Bassilides, Gnostics				
170–244	Philostratos				
185–253	Origen				
204–70	Plotinos				
233–305	Porphyrios	215–76	Mani		
265–340	Eusebios				
324–37	Emperor Constantine				
395	Division of the Roman Empire			4th cent.	Āryadeva
340–420	Saint Jerome			5th cent.	Vasubandhu
353–430	Saint Augustine			5th cent.	Dinnāga
361–485	Emperor Julian			5th–12th cent.	International Buddhist University of Nalanda
5th cent.	Stephanos Byzantios			c. 454	Jain Council of Valabhī

1	2	3	4	5	6
527–65	Emperor Justinian A'			5th cent.	Hierocles in India
529	Closure of the Academy of Athens			c. 500	Beginning of the Paurāṇic literature
553	Fifth Ecumenical Council	570–632	Prophet Mohammad	c.530	Cosmas Indocopleustes in India
fl. 596	Athenaeos			c. 560	Īśvara Kṛṣṇa's *Sāṅkhya Kārikā*
5th–6th cent.	Ioannis Stobaios			629–45	Hiuen Tsiang in India
				7th cent.	Dharmakīrti
d. c. 750	John of Damascos	711	Arabic expansion into Gibraltar	771–1739	Mohammedan invasions
fl. 858	Patriarch Photios			788–820	Śaṅkarācārya
fl. 1187	Gerardud of Cremona	c. 1030	Alberuni	1037–1137	Rāmānuja
1204–61	The capture of Constantinople by the Franks			1440–1518	Kabīr
1453	The capture of Constantinople by the Turks			1498	Vasco da Gama at Calicut
				1532–1623	Tulsīdās
				1612	British East-West Company
				1749–1960	Greek community in Bengal
1782	First edition of *Philokalia*			1784	The Asiatic Society founded in Calcutta
1821	Establishment of the Greek State			1722–1833	Raja Rām Mohan Roy
				1787–1833	Demetrios Galanos in India
				1857–1947	British dominion over India
				1947	India's Independence
1984	First Indo-Greek Symposium, Delphi			1995	Second Indo-Greek Symposium, New Delhi

Notes:

1. The dates given are based on the conclusions reached in this work.
2. The absolute figures, especially those relating to India, are a general estimation rather than precise dates.
3. Standard abbreviations: b. = born, d. = died, fl. = flourished, *c.* = *circa*, around, approximately.